

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XVIII

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XVIII

DECEMBER 1944

Number 4

THE FAMILY ALLOWANCES CONTROVERSY IN CANADA

CHARLOTTE WHITTON

CANADA is literally torn in two over the precipitate passage of the Family Allowances Act, 1944, by the Dominion Parliament. When the project first assumed legislative probability in the autumn of 1943, a Gallup poll indicated 49 per cent of the population as favoring the idea, 42 per cent opposed, and 9 per cent undecided. In the province of Quebec majority opinion was favorable, but elsewhere it was contra. A poll in October, 1944, taken after the presentation and enactment of the measure had thrust it into the forefront of conflicting issues, suggested that 13 per cent of the Canadian people had "never heard of it" and that 8 per cent were still undecided. Only a third—34 per cent—considered it necessary legislation, another 16 per cent admitted that it might be but deemed it a political bribe, while 29 per cent regarded it solely as such. Those in the latter group were found among all the political parties, including 17 per cent of those of the party introducing the bill. The divergence in geographic and racial attitude is even sharper than a twelvemonth ago: 49 per cent of the Quebec public deem the measure necessary; 17 per cent more support it though regarding it as a bribe. In Ontario, however, only 26 per cent deem it necessary without reservation, and another 13 per cent indorse it in principle

but regard it as a measure of political expediency. Thus, a full year after its emergence as a practical issue in Canadian life, the opinion of the country remains largely unchanged; in fact, if anything, more dubious, since only 34 per cent give it outright indorsement, and the distribution of support and opposition is even more definitely marked as between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Nor is the unanimous vote recorded in the House of Commons what it may seem to be. There were 139 yeas in a House of 245 members. Vacancies and soldier absentees cut the residual 106 to 86, of whom 2 later recorded their opposition, though absent for the vote. Thus, 84, or 34 per cent of the House, did not declare themselves. Of those not voting, 55 came from areas in which there is known to be strong opposition to the measure. The House of Commons' vote thus seems to indicate little more unanimity of conviction in the House than the Gallup poll among the electorate.

The understanding of the situation lies in an appreciation of all its elements. In a recent public statement the Honorable Stuart Garson, able premier of Manitoba's Coalition government, but himself of the same political faith as the Dominion Ministry sponsoring the measure, wrote of "the yawning gaps in information which is indispensable to the

exercise of an intelligent judgment in the matter."

Accepting as universal the principle of social protection and aid in the maintenance of child and family life, there is wide divergence of opinion as to method of effecting it. Thought on this continent, and even yet to probably major extent in Britain, has favored the development of family life through the primary responsibility of proper parental guardianship and through the community partnership with the parent in the creation of minimum wage and price levels, the assurance of reinforcing social resources, and the guaranty of actual assistance at need rather than by the payment of a generalized social subsidy through automatic cash grants on behalf of all children under specified age. This latter device has been regarded on the whole as "exclusively European, adapted to low wages."

A FISCAL OR SOCIAL MEASURE?

However, the whole situation resulting from the recent Canadian enactment is much more complicated than even the debate as to these alternative methods of assuring decent standards of family maintenance. The proposal cannot shake off, as the public opinion polls reveal, the inference of political derivation while the statute itself, in its very drafting, is loose, negligent of good social practice, and open to constitutional challenge both in concept and in phrasing. To quote Mr. Garson again:

We are still puzzled as to one of the most important points. . . . We have no information before us which indicates conclusively whether the Dominion Government itself regards and justifies family allowances primarily as a social security measure, or as an instrument of federal fiscal policy.

³ *Third Report, Quebec Commission on Social Insurance, 1930, IV, 107.*

The more prolonged its study, the more inescapable seems the conclusion that if it is designed as a social measure it is open to serious criticism on constitutional, administrative, and good case-work principles and that if it is within the constitution it is as a fiscal measure and as such open to exhaustive review in its social implications. In any case, it can be examined only against the background of the structure and character of the Canadian state, while the weight of internal evidence is against its classification as a measure of social aid.

THE MEASURE, WAGE LEVELS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

In its present form and setting it calls for sharp examination in relation to the maintenance of wage and price levels and to double taxation of insurable workers without dependents.

In the Dominion, unlike the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, wages and hours are subject, ordinarily, to provincial and not Dominion jurisdiction. They are not controllable by the same authority as confers the gift of the cash grant. The variation in wage standards has been a constant handicap to the more progressive provinces, and, especially in an economy with heavy primary production, the operation of a family income bonus, not integrated into price and wage minima, can be a menace to progress as it can be undermining to the maintenance of production. Where, as was admitted in the House debate, the actual fact is that the man-hour is not of equal productive value in all the provinces and is lowest in some areas where families are largest and the birth rate highest, there are dangers as grave as they are obvious to the whole standard of living of the average worker and to the very existence of the present standards of

wages, hours, education, and welfare of the provinces of high per capita manpower per hour.

As against this the National War Labor Board has been cited as recommending cash family grants in its majority report of 1943-44. As a matter of fact, it recommended primarily the removal of the wage ceiling on all rates below 50 cents an hour and cash grants only as an alternative. The minority report favored the former course, and the Canadian public has so far had only the statement that the opinion of the financial advisers to the Crown was adverse as argument as to its impracticality.

The measure is supposed to be related to the Beveridge proposals, but Beveridge follows a particular concept of social insurance procedures upon the simplicity and symmetry of which he bases the logic of his case for the introduction of cash grants to child dependents at one end of the scale and benefits to older dependents at the other. Beveridge argues for a guaranteed national minimum income for all families at all times and under all circumstances. He seeks to bring this about by three procedures. Two of these are comparatively simple, those associated with assistance and insurance. The third procedure, however—some device for assurance of the national minimum to all workers while actually earning—lends itself to no such nice symmetry.

Minimum wages can be fixed for the standard household and even a per capita per child up to an average number, but the variable value of a man-hour of work and the variable rate of reproduction of the worker enter to present a problem in human equations, susceptible neither to economic prescription nor to actuarial calculation. So Beveridge, recognizing the social injustice and unworkability of

equal remuneration through equal earnings for unequal output of labor or of skill, seeks to adjust by assuring equal income for such unequal output by social subsidy from the general revenue of taxation on the rough basis of number of dependents per worker under a given age. It would appear that the Canadian family allowances plan, possibly because of its fiscal rather than social nature, has failed to appreciate these features of the Beveridge proposal.

In the first place, Canada's scheme is predicated upon, and related to, no such stable substructure of general assistance as Beveridge prescribes. In the second place, it has not been reconciled to the very different setting which Beveridge assigns to the cash subsidy to children in his social insurance picture. "The first fundamental principle" of his scheme, Beveridge describes (p. 121, S.304) as "the provision of a flat rate premium of insurance benefit, irrespective of the amount of earnings which have been interrupted." In the Canadian system all except the youngest workers under sixteen years of age pay their premium at a graded scale varying with income, and benefits are also graded to income when working, but with a 15 per cent bonus to the worker with dependents, though there has been no corresponding increase in premium deduction from such workers. Thus, the Canadian unemployment insurance plan already provides at least a 15 per cent children's or dependents' allowance or bonus, at the cost of both premiums and taxes to all workers without such dependents. This has not been adjusted under the Family Allowances Act, leaving the social injustice of a double impost and a special benefit and threatening the one social insurance mechanism that Canada possesses with a complication that can imperil its

smooth functioning in the present or any extended coverage.

THE ACT ITSELF

The Minister of Justice practically outlawed the bill as a social measure in his endeavors to bring it within the Constitution:

In principle it is a bill to allocate to every child maintained by a parent up to the age of sixteen years a certain monthly benefit, the only condition attached being that the person to whom the money is paid shall apply it for the maintenance and better upbringing of the child. There is nothing else whatever; no obligation of any kind is imposed. The bill is not drawn in such a way that if it were shown that a person had received the allocation and misapplied it, he would commit an offence. Offences are set out in the act, but that is not one of them. No obligation is imposed upon anyone; no contractual right is interfered with; no family right is affected. This is merely a declaration by the Canadian government, authorized by the Canadian Parliament, that the Canadian people wish to contribute so much a month for the upkeep of each child, provided that the money be used for that purpose.^a

The drafting of the measure flows from this concept and inevitably lacks the precision which should characterize any statute of such potential significance in the life of home and family. It leaves incredible powers in definition and administration to regulation by Order-in-Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Health and Welfare, whose own status and powers are vague and, as yet, not established under the concurrent statute setting up this ministry. Briefly, the measure provides for a payment with "no obligation of any kind" of specified amounts monthly on behalf of all children under sixteen years in Canada at a schedule of \$5 per month for the child up to six years of age; \$6 from six to ten years; \$7 from ten to thirteen years; and \$8 from thirteen to sixteen years of age,

with the proviso that on behalf of a fifth child the grant is only \$4 per month; a sixth child, \$3 per month; a seventh and all subsequent children only \$2 per month. This feature contrasts sharply with the Beveridge proposals, which provide nothing for the first child unless the family be in dependent circumstances, but thereafter a mounting scale from 8 shillings in the family of two children (that is, 4 shillings per child) to 40 shillings (that is, 6 shillings, 8 pence, per child) in the family of six children. The Beveridge rising scale is frankly designed to stimulate the birth rate; its reversion in the Canadian statute is a concession to the clash of racial attitudes which form part of its setting. Mr. Brooke Claxton, parliamentary assistant in charge of the measure in the House (and since named first Minister of Health and Welfare), explained that this device would mean more comparable subsidies as between the average family of the country as a whole and the regionally and racially centralized large families. Of Canada's two and a half million households, 31 per cent have no children living at home; 51 per cent have three children or less; and only 17-18 per cent have even four children or more.

Just over 10 per cent of all the Canadian families have five or more children, only 4.2 per cent have seven or more children, and only 2 per cent of urban families are in this highest category. But of all the families with seven, eight, or nine children, 51 per cent are found in Quebec, where also dwell 63 per cent of the families of ten or more children.

Further facts have relevance. The fertility rates of Canadian women run from 242 per 1,000 in the French strain down to 84.4 in the Hebrew, with the British only 128. The French birth rate

^a *House of Commons Debates*, July 25, 1944.

is 31 (1941), having risen from 29.5 in a decade, while all others declined, the British from 18.1 to 17.8. The average number of living children per family is 2.86 for the British races; 4.28 for the French; with no other group but the Hebrew dropping below 3 (Scandinavian) and with all other European races between 3 and 3.5.

The dexterous balancing of these relative disparities is the probable *raison d'être* of the downward scale. It will mean, in certain age groupings, say, \$18 per month per family in the one out of two Canadian homes with three children or less, but probably \$33 to \$34 per typical family of seven young children, more than one out of two of whom would be in Quebec. In other words, the per capita "value" of the child is at a discount as the number of the family increases beyond four. This feature would also seem to shift the measure from Beveridge's population purpose and to indict its social premise. It does not meet the question to point out that in the usual family budgeting the per capita allowance decreases as the younger children increase, because in such budgets the basic calculation is an over-all household unit. In the flat-rate subsidy of the Canadian plan there may be any or no other income in the home. As would be anticipated, this shrinking valuation of "increasing assets" is evoking clamorous criticism as "pagan," "socially unjust," "provincial discrimination," etc., and already political sequelae are evident in countering tenders, suggesting flat rates or scales mounting with the arithmetical progression of the family.

Apart from this actual schedule of payments, the statute contains few specific features. One of these might be anticipated. With certain qualifications section 2(b) makes this cash subsidy

additional to any allowance or pension payment to the child dependent of service or ex-service personnel, a clause which might afford support for slower demobilization than would ordinarily be acceptable to servicemen's families.

Another clause—7(1)—really qualifies the claim of the statute as conferring a grant on every child; it provides, upon receipt of the child bonus under this Act, for deductions under present income-tax regulations. This runs counter to Beveridge's dictum that the income-tax exemptions and child allowances should be kept separate as designed for utterly different purposes by the state. It definitely weights the emphasis of the Act away from the concept of family allowances to encourage the family of the average low-income white-collar worker, for the effect will be cancellation or reduction of his present exemptions and undoubtedly continued or increased tax levies to sustain the cost of the scheme. The same observation applies to probably 50 per cent at least of all insurable workers.¹ The provision thus definitely passes into a relief, or assistance, measure for families below the tax-exemption level (\$1,200 at present for a worker with dependent). The apparent reasoning is not without relation to the electoral strength of the very low-paid wage worker and the nonwage worker in the subsistence and marginal areas of the Dominion. It is a provision which queries even the fiscal value of the measure as designed to pump some millions of dollars of transferred income into consumers' purchases as a domestic resource in Canada's disastrously disrupted civilian export markets. So devised and out of setting in any

¹ *House of Commons Debates*, April 17, 1944. At the end of 1942, 69.9 per cent of all contributors under the Unemployment Insurance Act were in receipt of more than \$20 per week.

general program of assuring a more buoyant national income, it can seriously impair the "backlog" purchasing demand of the Canadian taxpayer of moderate middle-class income; that is, under \$2,500 per year, wherein 90 per cent of all Canadian workers account for 75 per cent of earned income. In this light the Act has no support but the claim that it will prove more effective, though much more costly, than an adequate over-all social assistance appropriation, available for all persons below self-supporting income levels and not restricted to those whose dependents are children under sixteen years of age.

Administrative procedures are left practically wide open under the statute but definitely contemplate the Dominion as the actual authority, with the Minister empowered to "establish committees or boards and arrange with departments of government and other public and private agencies and organizations to assist him in carrying out the purposes of the Act," to facilitate which he may also make arrangements with the provinces. Since the child-caring resources of the country are all under provincial incorporation, this section envisages either the exercise of ultra-constitutional powers by the Dominion through direct approach to local public or voluntary agencies or the conclusion of amiable working arrangements whereby the provinces will practically delegate their powers and become agents of the Dominion in a sphere of their own jurisdiction. The enactment of the measure without intimation to the provinces or consultation with them has not conduced to a happy issue from possible constitutional afflictions, and Ontario has already made clear its intention of insisting upon full and clear discussion and the elimination of any ambiguity of relations or powers in this field.

Another provision invoking constitutional challenge is that—6 and 11(c)—empowering the Minister to set up, by regulation, tribunals to deal with any matter arising under the Act and protecting the decisions of any such tribunals from "appeal or review by any court of law." The potential violence to the provincial right of the constitution of courts and the grave danger of serious vitiation in the slowly maturing system of the intricate Dominion-provincial social courts have called these particular interlocking sections under most anxious examination. In spite of the Minister of Justice's disclaimer in the House, Clause 5 does suggest some recourse to social process and judgment in the administration.

"The allowance shall be applied by the person receiving the same exclusively towards the maintenance, care, training, education and advancement of the child," and if the Minister, or his delegate, is not so satisfied, the payment is to be discontinued or made elsewhere. By implication this can cut across the whole area of guardianship, child care, and placement, as can Clause 8(2), which allows reduction or withholding of the payment under regulations. This could really become a most potent federal weapon in respect to the juggling of mothers' allowances, assistance rates, etc., of other authorities. Clause 14(3), restraining the initiation of any prosecution under the Act, save on "written consent of the Minister," threatens to create an administrative problem in a country of Canada's extent as well as to threaten conflict with the social disciplines provided under the legal procedures of both provinces and local authorities.

POTENTIAL DISRUPTION OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS

Similarly capable of confusing and irritating conflict in social administration

are the clauses implicitly affecting school and work regulations. The age of eligibility does not coincide with the varying ages of the different provinces while S.4(2) could make possible serious interference in work conditions, for if the child be between six and sixteen years and physically fit to attend school, the allowance will cease to be payable unless he is at school or receiving "equivalent training" as to be set forth in regulations. On the one hand, intimations were forthcoming in the House debate that special considerations might prevail where younger children were engaged in "husbandry" in their own homes. On the other hand, insistence upon this section in the provinces where the school-leaving age is less than sixteen years (and that is the case in most of them) can create crises for educational authorities all across the country where facilities and personnel cannot possibly be created in the year before the Act comes into force.

In either case the Act makes possible Dominion insinuation into the whole realm of educational control exclusively provincial. Probably related to this inferential intrusion of the Dominion into provincial areas, highly susceptible to spontaneous ignition, are the vague phraseology and procedures of the Act as to which parent or guardian shall receive the payment, as to what "substantially" maintaining the child means (i.e., in actual care or in major part?), and as to what "institution" is to mean. These prickly pears are to be the product of the fruitful organism of the regulations. The potentialities in the situation are beyond easy brief discussion. Suffice it to say that one of the sharpest issues in Canadian life has been the question of denominational schools—seriously complicated in several of the provinces by the demand for the use of French as the

language of instruction.⁴ The Minister of Justice made perfectly clear in the debate that the Dominion would make payments to the parent or the guardian and did not deny that it would be open to him or her to apply that income to the actual maintenance and education of the child on any basis, so long as it was evident it was being so applied. Consequently, these hundreds of millions of dollars from common taxation can be made available by parents for support in fees to the denominational schools, which under provincial statutes and, in fact, by judgment of the Privy Council can have no direct claim upon the general tax revenue.

Identical considerations apply to the potential use of the grant by parents to institutional housing of children as opposed to private-home units of foster-care.

Another relationship is not made clear, and that is the status of this subsidy income in relation to the tithe right still enjoyed and actually enforceable in the Province of Quebec.

The possible frustrations of the law and usage in the education systems and social practice of Canadian community life, and the failure of the statute to face these facts frankly, provide yet other reservations resisting honest appraisal of the statute's effectiveness, or, in fact, its justice, as a measure or instrument of real social well-being, or in the truest national interest.

Unusual in a purported social measure is the absence of any requirement of validating documents—a parental dec-

⁴ Under the British North American Act, the use of French as an official language is permissive in both houses of Parliament and in the Supreme and Exchequer courts. It is an official language, of course, throughout Quebec. Privilege has widely extended usage, but the description of Canada as a "bilingual country" has no other foundation than these permissive clauses.

laration only is required; neither marriage nor birth certificate is essential. This is obviously a concession to certain elements in the population who consistently refuse to comply with the vital statistics requirements and is also probably a recognition of the absence of compulsory civil registration of births in Quebec. Further, the Dominion, contemplating administration federally, is without the resources of the provincial vital statistical services through which, and at the local level, concurrent and effective verification of age can alone be expeditiously handled.

The procedure of application for the grant as officially outlined in the House, calls for initial application of parents upon forms made available and returnable through the postal services. These will cover the "social data." The data on income will come through another registration, operative through the district income-tax offices. Obviously, some other mechanism will be required for the greater part of Canada's territory and for categories of low-income, primary producers and own workers. Here, too, the enactment and administrative planning on the "lone-hand" initiative of the Dominion has divorced the whole project from the vital organism of the local and provincial welfare services.

Payment is contemplated by check through the mails, though rumor is now current that, because of the devastating detail involved, books of twelve coupons may be forwarded for each child on each birthday, with each voucher detachable and valid, like the gasoline-ration tickets, upon the completion of certain identifying data.

The measure, as enacted, authorizes the payment of the first grants on and from July 1, 1945. Payment is to be chargeable to the Consolidated Revenue

Fund, which means the general taxation. The estimated cost is \$250 millions per annum, from which it is anticipated that from \$50 to \$60 millions will be channeled back by the device of canceling out present income-tax exemptions. The figures were admittedly estimates, based on the sliding scale of payment proposed and, as stated, already being vigorously opposed, especially among those powerful electoral elements in the population where the strongest support occurs for the scheme. Unless, as is reported from Australia, many self-supporting families decline to apply for the cash grants, the inevitable adjustments and enormous administrative costs will carry the outlay much nearer a \$400 million mark than a \$300 million mark. It is significant that the former figure approximates that set by Dr. Harry Cassidy, who, even while he advocated the principle of allowances, pointed up the necessity of careful prior analysis of many of its aspects in any possible application to Canada.

CASH GRANTS IN A WELFARE SETTING

Even the \$250 million estimate exceeds all welfare expenditure by all units of government in Canada, including public health and unemployment aid in any typical year from 1936 to 1939.

Where, then, does this place the measure in welfare priorities? Not even the most ardent advocate of the principle of cash subsidies on behalf of children argues for their provision as other than one element only in a comprehensive range of social provisions and services. Canada, at the present, is far from the realization of any such well co-ordinated and integrated system and is, in fact, without even government offering of any officially indorsed plan.

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The Marsh Plan or Report,⁵ in spite of implied or inferential official recognition, entirely lacks any such status. Its paternity is evident but not acknowledged as carrying either guardianship or maintenance responsibilities. Early in the war a Cabinet Committee on Reconstruction was set up with a supplementary advisory committee of private citizens and departmental officials under the chairmanship of Principal F. Cyril James of McGill University. This committee was provided with public funds and accorded official status and access to all relevant governmental resources, but it remained advisory, its reports rather kites in the wind of public opinion—though their physical weight somewhat weakens the force of the metaphor—than documents or policies committing the government or even recognized by it.

Over and above this Advisory Committee, and between it and the Cabinet Committee, an official Advisory Committee on the various aspects of reconstruction was appointed, consisting entirely of Dominion government officials—permanent or on loan—and dominated in both categories by men of unquestioned capacity and who have controlled the economic thought and financial policy of the King administration ever since 1935 and, to some extent, the latter-day developments of the Bennett government prior thereto. Their philosophy is solely economic in its concept and conforms impeccably with the tenets of orthodox finance. No proposal of the James or any other committee of the government is viable beyond the immediate postnatal period without this committee's "placet." It has not con-

sidered, at least as far as the public knows, as a whole, though evolving in parts, any plan or scheme of so-called security for the Dominion.

The public, partly through careless thinking and partly under subtle suggestion, has been taking the wholly non-committal and officially unindorsed Marsh Report as a sedative, carelessly calling it "the Canadian Beveridge" and more correctly—though accidentally—grouping it with the National Resources Planning Board findings, which would appear to rest in a comparably precarious suspension between the heaven of government espousal and the earth of its repudiation.

But Dr. Marsh's Report had none of the methodical substantial substructure of research of the National Resources Planning Board Report and lacked also the exhaustive analyses and synthesis of Beveridge's document as the development of the Canadian social services lacks the maturing co-ordination of the English social services and the knitting-together of their respective jurisdictions and relevant fiscal responsibilities. Dr. Marsh, adviser in social research to Dr. James's secondary advisory committee, was given six weeks in which to throw out a document to outline a welfare structure for Canada to take the shock of a world in change. Dr. Marsh was himself a student of Beveridge's with but a few years in Canada spent in research at McGill. Without time or research staff and working under intolerable pressure, he turned out a report that he himself has described rather as a compilation of memoranda for discussion than a plan of social provisions for the Dominion. All the circumstances of its appearance, however, have interoperated to have it appear to be what it is not—a governmental welfare program

⁵ *Report on Social Security for Canada*, prepared by L. C. Marsh for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (Ottawa, 1943).

for Canada. There has been no pronouncement to suggest that such a program exists or is in process of creation beyond the preparatory work, known to be under way among Dominion government officials, as part of the agenda for a projected Dominion-provincial conference, now deferred until after the next Dominion election.

The Dominion government did bring down a measure this session to constitute a Dominion Ministry of Health and Welfare, to which the restricted and nebulous functions of the Dominion Ministry of National Health (constituted in almost identical circumstances in 1919) have been transferred and the implications of new duties in the welfare field assigned. Since the statute gives to the new ministry only the area of welfare jurisdiction, recognized as federal under the present distribution of constitutional powers, its functions must remain somewhat vague and its structure and program somewhat unstable and porous until, at the earliest, the projected Dominion-provincial meeting. Presumably its officials may turn to the development of a welfare program and may even prepare suggestions for legislation and administrative collaboration with the provinces, but these cannot be the matter, even in wartime, of intergovernment administrative procedures without substantial legislative change by both Dominion and provincial parliaments.

So, in the meantime there is no overall proposal for comprehensive welfare provisions in Canada, comparable to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell submissions in the United States or the inclusive new British White Papers on the National Health Service and the national welfare program. Consequently, in such a setting, the Canadian family allowances measure cannot be described as part of a

"greater scheme of social security." It may, in fact, operate to defer it. "If family allowances are to be justified as a social security measure," writes Mr. Garson, "their cost at \$250,000,000 a year—a conservative estimate,—is so tremendous when compared with existing expenditures upon education and social services that it makes a thoughtful person wonder whether it will not in some way adversely affect the amount which can be made available for other social services."

DOMINION AND PROVINCIAL WELFARE RESPONSIBILITIES

Those other—in fact, all—social services are unevenly developed in Canada owing, in large degree, to the different circumstances in the different provinces, with whom, under the British North America Act, major responsibility rests in what has become an extended field of welfare and social provision. These divisions of power were neither arbitrary nor accidental but dictated by forces, deep in the Canadian story, and some understanding of which is as relevant to an appreciation of the present controversy as the Act itself on the actual distribution of constitutional powers.

The Dominion of Canada is not a natural unit of geography or geology; and this has operated to develop wide occupational and great economic disparity in its different regions with profound determinants on social standards and living conditions. To these sharp strains racial and historical factors have brought added stress. The eighteenth-century struggles between the disintegrating French Empire and the expanding sea power of Britain brought their respective subjects into conflict in the ranges of the New World. Some or all of what was New France passed intermit-

tently from one allegiance to the other until 1713, when Acadia (which now roughly constitutes the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) exclusive of Cape Breton Island passed permanently to the British Crown. Isle St. Jean (the present Prince Edward Island), Cape Breton Island (with its great fortress of Louisbourg), and Quebec (extending but slightly westward of its present boundaries) became the base of New World operations against the British colonies to the south and of forays upon their commerce with Great Britain itself. So untenable was the position which developed that the British government eventually yielded to the pressure of the New England colonists and settled and fortified Halifax, the first substantial British settlement in the North. In the Seven Years' War all the French territory in North America, save the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the Gulf, passed into British possession. With the War of American Independence, Britain retained only the northern portion—Canada—containing approximately 70,000 persons, of whom 65,000 were of French descent. The future Dominion therefore took form not really as an English-speaking British colony but as a ceded French-speaking territory which preferred to remain under British sovereignty. This is a vital fact in the life of Canada: all her present story moves against its background.

British retention of Canada had been purchased at a price. Upon the cession and for nearly two decades thereafter (1759-74), the newly acquired territory was administered with as little disturbance as possible in the life and ways of its inhabitants under a form of military government, which operated to discourage the settlement of Britishers, who in their

home land in the preceding hundred years had fully established parliamentary institutions. French subjects of authority and wealth had returned to France: the inhabitants, relying on the smaller seigneurs and their clergy, all of whom had remained, settled down with reasonable content, retaining their language, religion, customs, and civil law, enjoying privileges not then accorded the king's Roman Catholic subjects, even in Britain, and creating practically a state of their own, severed from France from the middle of the eighteenth century and so practically untouched by the French Revolution and later the Napoleonic Wars and their changes.

The War of Independence had another determining reaction on Canada's character. From all the colonies, over land or by river or by sea came thousands of "Loyalists," men as determined on free and responsible government as the signers of the Declaration of Independence but resolved to obtain it from and under the Crown. Into Acadia they poured and by division of territory won a province of their own (New Brunswick, 1784). In the "Upper Country" they established the fine English settlements of the eastern townships of Quebec and what is now Canada's most populous and wealthiest province, Ontario, whose severance from Quebec (Lower Canada) was brought about as Upper Canada (in 1791).

Thus were two currents fed into the one land, events rendering each more tragically persistent in their pride of race than nature and patriotism had ordinarily decreed. For each had known not only the exile of pioneer settlement but each had known actual bloodshed, dispossession, and the long, grim struggle to found again sanctuary for their families and their faith.

The new land grew rapidly, the French by natural increase, the British by comparatively vigorous reproduction and by strong reinforcement through overseas settlers; but the land to the south expanded even more rapidly, and the quick westward thrust of United States energy was one among many forces driving the separate Canadian colonies, dissident though their character, their geography, and their economy, to seek a union of their diversities. In 1867 by statute of the British Parliament (the British North America Act, 30-31 Victoria c.3), passed on their request by the Canadian states after three years of conference (and conflict), it was decreed that the Province of Canada (into which Upper and Lower Canada had been united in 1841, in what proved indeed to be an unholy deadlock) and of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should "form and be one Dominion under the name of Canada." From that date, within this federation, Upper and Lower Canada were "to be severed" and "form two separate provinces" (Ontario and Quebec). The present Dominion of Canada developed from the later inclusion of the then existing separate colonies of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island and the creation out of the Northwest Territories⁶ of the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

The division of powers as between Dominion and provinces is what such a history would suggest. Education, by a special section (93) of the B.N.A.A., is reserved "exclusively" to the provinces with particular reference to the protection of denominational schools. Property and civil rights remained with the prov-

inces, as did the administration of justice, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of all but the Supreme and Exchequer courts, and all matters of both civil and criminal procedure, though the criminal law itself became a Dominion Code. Municipal institutions were placed exclusively in provincial jurisdiction, as were such spheres of welfare responsibility as were then clear enough for definition, to wit, section 92(6): "the establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the province"; (7) "the establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions in and for the provinces other than marine hospitals"; and (12) "the solemnization of marriage (within the province)."

To the Dominion in this area there were assigned only "Marriage and divorce" (sec. 91[26]); "establishment, maintenance, and management of penitentiaries" (sec. 91[28]); and such minor responsibilities of an obviously Dominion-wide nature as "quarantine and marine hospitals." But, influenced by the vivid near-memory of the American Civil War, all legislation dealing with (sec. 91) "the peace, order, and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subject by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces" lies with the Dominion power, a clause as fruitful of conflict as it can be useful of recourse in the allocation of powers in spheres that can be interpreted as not envisaged at Confederation as comprised within the stipulated powers.

PRESENT STATUS OF CANADIAN WELFARE SERVICES

Breaking down general welfare provisions into specific categories, first

⁶ The Northwest Territories, still administered directly by the Dominion, and the Yukon Territory represent practically two-fifths of the land area of Canada, with less than 20,000 population.

come the basic social assistance services. These are entirely provincial in liability and primary provision, general assistance to the unclassified types of need having in fact no base in any but optional municipal provision in seven of the nine provinces. Even assistance to the ordinarily able-bodied employed rested on the same bases entirely until January, 1922, when (P.C. 191, January 25) the Dominion authority made comparatively generous cash subsidies available to the municipalities through the media of the provinces, a device intermittently employed in the recurrent economic fluctuations of the 1920's. Then in 1930 the Dominion came vigorously into the situation with heavy participation in both works and material aid through the ensuing years wherein drought in the wheat lands added grievously to the need and suffering of general economic, industrial, and agricultural recessions. The terms of participation varied in percentage and nature of responsibility but never in the maintenance of primary responsibility. Policy and administration rested with the provinces, to whom the Dominion granted accountable aid or loans, always with only elementary stipulations as to social principles or qualifications attending their disbursement. The establishment and supervision of machinery, standards, and procedures were naturally left to provincial and municipal agreement, since municipal institutions remain constitutionally the creations and creatures of the provinces.

So matters continued in assistance until 1941, when, with war having revived all forms of production, the Dominion withdrew entirely from any aid. What remained has increasingly reverted to generalized assistance for the socially maladjusted, prematurely unemployed, and partially applotable. Certain of

the provinces have continued to split costs with their municipalities, increasing at the same time their powers of administrative supervision; since the majority of the provinces have, however, withdrawn entirely from any financial participation, local government, over a wide area of Canada, waits with easily comprehended anxiety the probable shock of reconversion and displacement.

In the area of specialized assistance the Dominion participates up to 75 per cent in the cost for two categories—aid to the aged over seventy years and to the blind over forty years—to a joint maximum of \$25 per month. Again the Dominion's participation is wholly financial; in fact, the administration, federally, is vested in the Ministry of Finance. The *modus operandi* was provincial enactment of local statute within the general terms of a Dominion Act of 1926, which in the ensuing decade was gradually adopted in all nine provinces. Reciprocal bases of administrative practice have developed among all the provinces, being formalized in supplementary regulations of each and of the Dominion authority for those of common application.

Assistance to necessitous mothers of dependent children is wholly provincial in legislation and cost. Eight of the nine provinces have some form of mothers' allowances in effect, Prince Edward Island alone, almost wholly agricultural and pastoral with but 90,000 population, being excepted. The conditions of age eligibility vary with the respective school-attendance laws of the provinces, while amounts of grant, social qualifying clauses, and other stipulations also reflect the different economic features, social attitudes, and character of the highly individualized Canadian provinces. There is thus no measure of Dominion

participation in this area of specialized assistance.

Even within the respective Canadian provinces, integration of their own systems of social assistance is complete in only two, though plans are currently well advanced to the consummation of such a desired end in all but one. Only in respect to the specified amounts of aid in the case of the aged and the blind is there any Dominion participation on even the most detached basis of cash subsidy and constitutional nonliability.

In the area of socially insurable risks, the Canadian system of workmens' compensation, recognized as outstanding in world standards, is wholly provincial in law, and, in fact, there has been no proposal from any quarter for changing jurisdiction. Only two other forms of social prepayment of the costs of possible need exist—the Dominion system of government annuities, and the Dominion unemployment insurance system, dating from August, 1941.

The system of government annuities so long antedates general advocacy of social insurance provisions as to becloud its potential significance in the Canadian picture. Adopted in 1908-9, it provides, through the post offices or by direct remittance, a system of citizen savings at public administrative cost to afford a maximum income of \$100 a month at the date of maturity. In a country where a third of the population work on other than a wage basis it affords at present on a purely voluntary basis a framework of great potential significance, for it could be easily adapted to a direct state-plus-citizen minimum social savings plan to assure income maintenance upon a straight retirement basis separate from the welfare consideration entering any form of invalidity or disability benefits.

The unemployment insurance plan is wholly federal, both employment serv-

ice and insurance system being operated by the Dominion as the result of a constitutional amendment obtained in 1940. A prior enactment of 1935 had been found *ultra vires*, and the revised statute was based upon agreement by all the provinces to a resolution from the houses of the Dominion Parliament seeking amendment of the British North America Act, by insertion in the stipulated powers of the Dominion of the term "unemployment insurance." Upon enactment of the change, the Dominion Parliament passed this wholly federal statute.⁷ The Canadian system follows usual procedure but differs sharply from the flat-rate principle of premium and benefit, which Beveridge so favors.

No system of health insurance is in force in any part of the country, but health services at social cost have developed for certain groups and over some areas of the western provinces. A projected plan of health insurance, with the Dominion dominant therein, drawn up by a purely civil service committee under Dr. J. J. Heagerty, chief public health officer, after two years of tempestuous controversy, has been deferred for discussion at the indefinitely postponed Dominion-provincial conference.

The social utilities, of course, are entirely provincial. And, a natural outgrowth of the country's character and story, voluntary effort assumes a much more potent part and responsibility in all Canadian welfare functions than in most comparable states. For instance, of 468 charitable and benevolent institutions and agencies covered in the last census (1941), just under 30 per cent were under public auspices, 22 per cent

⁷ The transfer of the Employment Service to the Dominion has not, however, been fully accepted in Quebec, where the province has maintained its own fully operative system of offices in all its largest centers of employment. Here Dominion offices also operate.

were under voluntary lay, and the other 48 per cent under religious and fraternal, direction.

The great religious foundations of the French regime and the free association of citizens in the establishment of general hospitals, along the lines of English practice, have left 80 per cent of the public general hospitals of Canada under private incorporation and philanthropic control. Only in preventive health, the care of the tuberculous, and the mental health program are the auspices predominantly public and, of course, in the exclusively Dominion Veteran or Marine hospitals. The resultant system is an intricate but remarkably effective service of high standard, operating under public statute and inspection but private management, with funds derived in reasonably fair proportion from public grants, payment for services, and private sources of endowment income or voluntary contribution. Visiting nursing, the care of the aged, and, except in two of the prairie provinces, the overwhelming percentage of the child care and protection services operate under similar principles and procedures. The peculiarly characteristic children's aid societies in the Canadian provinces represent remarkably constituted partnerships of Crown and people in the operation of a citizen service that derives its power and strength from statute but its vitality, comprehensiveness, and high standard of guardianship service from a voluntary interest and responsibility, not responsive to statutory creation or purchasable by public funds. Into their network are skilfully woven the public provisions for the care and protection of all minors—the dependent, neglected, or delinquent child, the child born out of wedlock, or the child even in pending need of protection and the legal and judicial mechanisms whereby their ac-

tual care and maintenance are assured in the custody of their own homes or other shelter.

THE CHALLENGE TO STATESMANSHIP

Against such a background the adaptation of existing facilities to the enlarging welfare demands of changing social philosophies and attitudes presents a challenge of unusual difficulty and demands the exercise of ingenuity, wisdom, and justice. Statesmanship calls for the most careful appraisal of needs against service and resources; disinterested assessment of where humanitarian considerations would assign administrative responsibilities; and allocation of legislative and executive powers accordingly. The location of fiscal and financial authority is of secondary importance, providing it is made competent to assure over-all revenue adequate to all needs and, by redistribution of taxing power or income, or both, resources sufficient for their responsibilities on the part of the respective units of government deemed fittest to discharge varying functions in the protection of the people. With consideration of these basic fiscal and constitutional factors must go technical inquiry as to the mechanisms to be utilized—the actual service of the social utilities, the outright grant of social assistance, or the partnership in prepayment of risks of social insurance—before the people of any state can be put in a position to judge of the adequacy of any program for its social well-being or the order of precedence in which it will move to the realization of that program. Judged by these requisites, the Canadian family allowances measure of 1944 cannot be described as being offered or considered as any part of a comprehensive program of social welfare. It is one possible item, to provide by one possible method of cash subsidy for one phase

only of child maintenance—that presumably represented by economic need in large families on low income. It was violently wrenched from any possible relevant setting and presented in this isolation to a pitifully unprepared body of legislators and a sketchily informed public. The entire debate in the Commons consumed, *in toto*, less than thirty-four hours. Mr. Garson's judgment again seems the pithiest:

It seems to me that the point here is that the Dominion government in introducing family allowances without consulting the provinces, whose jurisdiction over the field of social services heretofore in practice has been considered almost exclusive, surely could not have intended to justify them solely or even primarily as a social service measure. As such they would constitute a federal intrusion in a provincial field of jurisdiction.

THE GENESIS OF THE SCHEME AS A FISCAL ITEM

So such logic as the situation seems to possess drives relentlessly to a fiscal setting for the measure. The way of it seems somewhat like this.

The developing years involved the respective powers of Dominion and provinces in the welfare field inextricably with their respective financial and taxing powers. The states forming Confederation had been separate functioning fiscal units. Without going into detail, the rough division of taxing authority of the B.N.A.A. gave to the provinces (92[2]) "direct taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a revenue for Provincial purposes." (The provinces also retained their public lands, etc., and revenue therefrom.) To the Dominion went (91[3]) "the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation," which, in the practice of the day, was primarily the indirect levy of customs and excise and generally assumed to

cover primarily indirect as opposed to the direct taxation which the provinces developed. Roughly such a division did exist until World War I, when the Dominion "invaded" the income-tax field.

Further, under the Confederation pact, the Dominion agreed to assume all provincial liabilities subject to certain qualifications not here relevant; to make annual allowances for the maintenance of provincial governments and legislatures; and to provide a basic subsidy of (with later amendments) 80 cents per capita of the provincial population up to two and a half million persons and 60 cents per capita thereafter. Though these payments were to be by nature of a "quit claim," through the years special grants, subsidies, and the system of guaranteed or special loans to the provinces gradually evolved.

Until World War I, there were rival claims upon the household's various purses, but in the immediate postwar needs the possible inability of all but three of the provinces (Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia) to meet any unusual exigency became a hard, definite challenge. The special Dominion grants for unemployment relief held the fort temporarily, and the basic question receded with the boom years to break with overwhelming force in the depression thirties. Several incontrovertible facts then became clear. Certain of the provinces were quite unable to develop revenues under any circumstances adequate to the demands of modern educational requirements or to the health and welfare needs of an industrial democracy, while the municipalities could not discharge their traditional duties from property and business rates without extinction of the average middle class. The whole arrangement of Confederation presented itself for review as to the real-

location of taxing powers or of areas of jurisdiction or of both.

On August 14, 1937, a Royal Commission (on Dominion-Provincial Relations) was appointed to inquire into the whole matter and reported in 1940. Its recommendations were described as aiming at placing "jurisdiction over social and government services in the hands of the governments most likely to design and administer them, not merely with the greatest economical and technical efficiency, but with regard for the social, cultural and religious outlook of the various regions of Canada." Their financial proposals were averred as "designed to enabling each province in Canada to have sufficient revenue at its command . . . to carry out the important functions entrusted to it," but at the same time "to leave the fiscal powers of the Dominion as wide in fact as they have always been in law, so that the central government may be free to direct the wealth of the nation as the national interest may require."

First, the Dominion sought the surrender of the old subsidies of Confederation. Second, claiming its absolute power to tax by any method, it proposed agreement with the provinces to renounce certain areas of taxation they had developed; i.e., the personal income tax, corporation taxes (with certain reservations), and succession duties, which, unless on the basis of a uniform national assessment, could not be used as delicate instruments of taxation—"for giving effect to social policies." In return, the Dominion proposed to take over the provincial debts, with some reservations regarding self-liquidating liabilities and with special treatment for Quebec, where, because provincial debt was lighter and municipal debt higher, the proposal was to assume the provincial bur-

den or 40 per cent of both, whichever was the greater. Further, the Dominion proposed assuming both administration and costs of the employable idle and their dependants, all assistance to primary industries, and, in the event of the present assistance to the aged being transferred to a contributory basis, to take over the whole insurance plan. Social insurance was suggested as a subject of concurrent jurisdiction.

These arrangements, it was suggested, would mean less variable provincial revenues and outlays, with surplus or deficits reasonably clear in relation to each province's capacity to finance "an average Canadian standard of services." The Commission therefore calculated the probable position of each province and proposed a National Adjustment Grant, to be made irreducible but subject to periodic review upward to enable those below the hypothetical average Canadian standard to attain it. No grant was proposed for Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta, but a most substantial grant was proposed for Quebec, generally conceded to be second in wealth, as it is in population, in the Confederation. This adjustment was proposed on the ground of the large part of the educational and welfare services hitherto carried by the church in that province, but now in increasing degree being subsidized, supplemented, or assumed by public funds.

Sharp controversy immediately developed, and a Dominion-provincial conference to discuss the recommendations proved abortive after a few hours' sitting. It adjourned presumably upon the refusal of the Dominion to proceed on any agenda but the basis of the report. Actually it broke on the deep sharp shoals over which the currents of the national life may appear to slip silently but al-

ways break sharply in any time of hard going.

The war reached its more critical stages: The national fight for survival took priority, and for the duration and a year thereafter, the provinces ceded practically the same taxing powers that the Report would have taken from them permanently, the Dominion agreeing to reimburse each province on the basis of prior revenue, subject to certain adjustments. Canada's war production became so incredibly enlarged with the responsibilities in supply thrown upon her that the revenue to be redistributed increased proportionately with consequent satisfactory buoyancy in the revenues of most of the provinces. But the whole situation is purely temporary and the future fraught with grave possibilities in the absence of any permanent understandings.

In this setting it is but natural that the "tidiness" and expedition possible under emergency centralization of the functions of government should not be without its attraction to the strong federalists, and to many of the largest taxpaying units, to whom the convenience, if not the scale, of concentrated war taxation has been most acceptable. Many of the financial advisers to the Crown on the Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations were the same men responsible for the administration of these wartime fiscal policies which closely paralleled its major recommendations. The same officials are also the current advisers on the economic and financial aspects of reconversion and reconstruction plans and, as such, presumably the authorities in charge of preparation of the suggestions to be laid before the provinces in any Dominion-provincial conference.

In this situation a fortuitous juxtapo-

sition of events suddenly became clear. The Marsh Report had proposed cash family grants of \$7 to \$9 per month, let it be said in justice to Dr. Marsh, related to the prior existence of essential social utilities. This proposal could be disguised as a social measure, lifted out of its intricate setting, and put to a fiscal use. Two things it was claimed it would allow—continuance of high war taxation into the anticipated first year of peace at least and a curb on inflation through the spending of war gratuities and the liquidation of war savings. And, moreover, because of the location of smaller families and higher wage and income levels in the wealthiest areas, it would permit of almost the same redistribution of revenue, with preferential treatment for Quebec, as the more scientifically calculated adjustments of the Commission had proposed. Further, the Dominion, thwarted in its effort to buy over the administration of unemployment assistance by the proffered assumption of its cost, could now attain practically the same end by federal administration of unemployment benefit and direct cash grants to parents for children under sixteen with canceling-out of income tax exemption allowances for the higher levels.

In such a sequence does the evolution of the Family Allowances Act, its drafting, and the present planning of its administration in the Finance and National Revenue ministries assume cogency.

A FURTHER WEDGE IN DISUNITY

Canada has never had an organic unity of race or even purpose in her national life except to remain free and autonomous on this continent. Strong British and Loyalist beats in her blood have kept her poised between their warm affection for the British Isles and the tug of common business interests

with her friendly southern neighbor. Her French-speaking strains have little of mutual interest with modern France; respect, but not instinctive attachment to the Crown which preserved their ancient rights and extended them by many a privilege carried over into the new Dominion. The Quebecois deem themselves the only true Canadians, for they alone look no farther back or abroad than to Canada as the land of their own allegiance. To this day, parts of the older provinces are more English, Irish, or Scotch than the lands from which their forebears came. With the great migrations of the closing decades of the century, other floods came into the Canadian life-stream. These strains, following a characteristic Canadian trend, settled and continued life in close and intimate blocs. The three prairie provinces today are only about 50 per cent of the basic British or French stock. The French strain is the dominant one (30 per cent) in the country's life; English (25.8 per cent), Scottish (12.2 per cent), and Irish (11 per cent) make up a common British element of practically half the population. The other 20 per cent are drawn from many races, with the Germanic, the Ukrainian, the Scandinavian, Netherlander, Jewish, and Polish peoples in that order contributing the major groups.

To a nation not yet woven into unity, World War I brought severe tensions, tightening with the recurrence of world conflict twice within the same generation. Canada's material interests, no less than the proved convictions of the majority of her population, could not but associate her as an active partner by Britain's side. The response of her New Canadians in both wars in all but certain areas and groups of particular religious attitudes to war has been a tribute to the boon of her citizenship.

On the other hand, the French-Canadian, clinging logically to his contention of Canada as his only motherland and disclaiming any inevitable interest in, or threat to, survival from European conflicts, has opposed compulsory military service and, with the exception of fine families of the old seigneurial strain or the regiments of high martial tradition, has been lukewarm or resistant in the mobilization of the nation for battle. By national plebiscite, the overwhelming vote of Canadians was for compulsory military service everywhere: Quebec was as strongly opposed, and her minority vote has prevailed. Yet Quebec has undoubtedly thriven upon the prosperity of war production in both conflicts, and her prolific birth rate has carried her people in increasing numbers into Ontario and New Brunswick particularly, the old Loyalist provinces whose basic birth rates and populations have lost tragically in the spontaneous response of their men to arms. The old and dominantly British provinces of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have suffered bitterly, and all the population of the new prairies and truly "British" Columbia have given in a cruel toll of fine dynamic young blood that their developing lands sorely needed.

The greatest prosperity zones in Canada occur, largely because of their great diversity of resources and power development, in the bowl from about Quebec City to Windsor, Ontario, northward to New Ontario, and on the thriving Pacific Coast. Ontario and British Columbia, with the highest percentage of smaller families, have the highest living standards, produce higher percentages of the national income, but, were the solely rural areas of Quebec extracted from that province—where the mode and standard of life is of the Prov-

ince's own preference—the relative wealth would be comparative. Toronto and Montreal hold the head offices of many great national undertakings, and, consequently, these two cities and, to lesser degree, their provinces derive for local use considerable revenue that is earned throughout and from all the provinces. This has afforded a continuous argument for the national collection and redistribution of certain revenues. To that there has been strong but not violent objection. However, the family allowances measure is so designed as to effect the reallocation of revenue overwhelmingly from the people of those areas within each of the provinces whose social philosophies and attitudes plan family responsibility to fit within anticipated income limits, while the overwhelming number of recipients will be those who hold contrary views. Moreover, in frank facing of the facts, most of the latter are opposed also in fundamental attitudes toward the purpose, direction, and primary allegiance of the Canadian state and the correlative obligations of its development, defense, inter-Empire, and international relations.

It is neither patriotism to deny, nor villainy to record, the relevance of all these considerations in the contemplation of cash grants to children in a situation as strained as present relations in the partnership called the Canadian nation.

SUMMARY

This makes tragically regrettable the absence of any scientific inquiry whatever into the social implications of the measure. Even its cost outlines are nebulous and accompanied by tentative estimates only of officials of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Income Tax Division of the Department of National Revenue.

The claim that the Canadian economy could not sustain a wage and price system, keyed to a decent minimum for the mature, competent worker at the sustenance level for a wife and three children, has not been submitted to public inquiry; was, in fact, challenged by Mr. J. L. Cohen, counsel of the National War Labor Board. Neither has there been any study of the bearing on population trends, on urban and rural standards of living, on the transfer of income from one occupational group to another, from skilled to unskilled workers, from certain racial groups to others, from one economic and geographic region, from one income level to others. There have been no factual data on the relation to price and wage levels and their variations between and within provinces; nor has any evidence but claim been submitted that the scheme will effect the fiscal desiderata outlined.

Most disturbing of all, no evidence has been given to the public of any over-all plan of social provisions, the total cost, its relation to the national income, and, therefore, its effect on the extent and priority of all other social needs, especially in health and education, in housing and nutrition for all the population no less than those with minor dependents.

Under all the circumstances, the present bewilderment of the Canadian people is inevitable. They have no factual data by which to judge whether the measure is one of constructive social progress or whether, whatever the merits elsewhere claimed for cash grants to children, such a device, in the particular conditions of the Canadian state, can be made to contribute as much to the welfare of the nation as it is now extracting in bitterness and conflict.

OTTAWA, CANADA
November 1944

U.N.R.R.A. ON THE THRESHOLD OF ACTION

SAVILLA MILLIS SIMONS

MEETING in Montreal, September 16-26, under the shadow of swift military events, the second session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was moved by a sense of the urgency of events and the need for action. Almost ten months of preparation and tedious waiting following the first enthusiastic Council session in Atlantic City were ending with the rapid liberation at long last of occupied Europe. Within a short time France and Belgium had been freed; the Allies were engaged in the Netherlands. In the words of the director-general: "Now the emancipation marches swiftly. Now the practical work of relief is at hand."

The basic policies for the administration of relief had been determined at Atlantic City. At Montreal the Council was faced with practical questions of the application of those policies to particular situations—questions that must be decided in preparation for actual operations.

REPORTS TO THE COUNCIL

As a basis for its decisions, the Council first received important reports of the director-general, the Allied military authorities, and the intergovernmental agencies responsible for the allocation of supplies.

PLANS FOR FIELD OPERATIONS

In presenting the first report on the work of U.N.R.R.A., the director-general briefly reviewed present plans for field operations. The scope and character of U.N.R.R.A.'s operations will vary greatly among different liberated coun-

tries because of extreme differences in their needs and resources. While some countries will require large amounts of relief supplies and services of various types, other countries have sufficient foreign exchange to purchase supplies and may need only certain specialized services, such as medical or welfare services.

In general, the Allied military authorities will assume responsibility for civilian relief in liberated countries for about six months. During this period the military may request aid from U.N.R.R.A. At the end of the period of military responsibility, the government or recognized national authority in charge of the administration of the area will take over responsibility for relief and may request assistance from U.N.R.R.A.—either limited or extensive in scope—or may conduct its activities independently.

In the three Balkan countries—Albania, Greece, and Yugoslavia—the program is expected to differ from this general plan in that U.N.R.R.A. will serve as the agent of the military authorities in carrying on relief activities during the initial military period immediately following liberation. More than six hundred U.N.R.R.A. employees and additional staff from voluntary agencies—most of them already in the Middle East—were ready for work in the Balkans. While awaiting operations, some of this staff has been working in the refugee camps. Last May U.N.R.R.A. took over from the British Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration the administration of six camps for war refugees and is now caring for more than fifty thousand

people, mostly Greeks and Yugoslavs, in these camps.

The western European countries in general will require relatively little aid. For the most part they will be able to purchase the supplies they need, although they wish aid in facilitating the allocation of supplies. They will require help chiefly in the care and return to their homes of displaced persons. Provision for people who have been forced from their homes by war is one of the most serious problems facing Europe. U.N.R.R.A. has estimated that in the summer of 1944 about ten million Europeans were outside their own countries and about twelve million had been shifted about within their own countries. It is planned to provide shelter, food, clothing, and health and welfare services for these people until their return home can be arranged.

In addition, it is expected that the countries of western Europe will want some aid from U.N.R.R.A. in health and welfare services and in technical services in the fields of agricultural and industrial rehabilitation. During the period of military responsibility representatives of U.N.R.R.A. will work with these governments and with the military to develop plans for assistance that will be required when the civilian authorities take over.

Missions will soon be sent to Poland and to Czechoslovakia to make plans for U.N.R.R.A.'s operations in these countries. A survey mission was sent to China last spring to work with the Chinese government in preparing a statement of its requirements. China has now submitted a request for assistance amounting to \$945,000,000, which represents 37 per cent of China's postwar relief and rehabilitation program for some eighty-four million people. Offices for U.N.R.R.A.'s Far Eastern program are

now to be opened in Sydney, Australia, and in Chungking, China.

OPERATIONS DURING THE MILITARY PERIOD

The Allied military authorities described to the Council the scope of their civilian relief operations during the initial period following liberation. These relief activities, which are intended primarily to prevent the spread of disease and to aid the defeat of the enemy by promoting the good will of the population behind the lines, must be limited, since military requirements must have priority. Military relief operations are necessarily limited to furnishing supplies necessary to maintain life and to preserve order. Consequently, more comprehensive and extensive programs of relief and rehabilitation should be undertaken by civilian agencies as soon as possible.

AVAILABILITY OF SUPPLIES

The present status of the procurement of supplies for relief purposes was carefully reviewed at the Council meeting. The director-general reported that arrangements had been made for drawing on stocks accumulated for war purposes and on current production as supplies for relief purposes are needed. He assured the Council that, when the need arises, "a substantial portion" of the supplies required will be available, but not all. Particularly serious are the problems of supplying sufficient quantities of meats, fats, and sugar, of textiles, clothing, and other manufactured goods. The director-general stated: "For these categories relentless efforts must be made to tap every conceivable source of supply."

Despite scarcities of certain supplies, reassuring reports were made by the intergovernmental allocating agencies, the Combined Production and Resources

Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Food Board. These boards, commonly referred to as "the Combined Boards," were set up in 1942 by the United Kingdom and the United States, with Canada's subsequent participation, to allocate the resources available to the United Nations for the prosecution of the war. In accordance with a decision made at Atlantic City, the requirements of U.N.R.R.A. for supplies and shipping space are coordinated with other demands through these boards, which now are responsible for allocating scarce supplies among the military, Lend-Lease, Allied governments able to purchase supplies, and U.N.R.R.A.

The representatives of these boards reported that, in general, needed supplies would be made available. The Combined Food Board stated: "The Board has confidence that, given the necessary cooperation between governments, the problem of meeting overall requirements of allied countries in Europe during 1945 can be met."

MAJOR DECISIONS

The major questions before the Council at Montreal were similar to those faced by any agency in initiating a relief program: Who shall receive aid? How much assistance shall be given? Shall priorities in assistance be set up? What shall be the scope of the activities? What can be done about needed services which this agency cannot perform?

During the ten-day session, twenty resolutions were adopted to answer these questions and to provide for financing and administering the program.

ELIGIBILITY FOR AID

Seven of the twenty resolutions had to do with the first question of who should receive assistance. They were all

concerned with the eligibility for aid of certain groups or areas and the scope of such operations. Some of these resolutions clarified the application to particular situations of the policies adopted at Atlantic City, but others modified existing policies, especially those on operations in enemy territory and the treatment of displaced persons of enemy nationality.

Operations in enemy or former enemy areas.—The basic policy of the Administration provides that it may operate in enemy or former enemy territory only with prior approval by the Council of the scale and character of the operations and the standard of provision and that all expenses of such operations must be paid by the enemy country concerned. This policy was modified by providing for (1) some operations in enemy areas necessary to the protection of the United Nations themselves and to the welfare of United Nations nationals; (2) operations in behalf of displaced persons who, although of enemy nationality, are anti-Nazi and identified with the interests of the United Nations—such as the Jews and those who have engaged in political activities against the Nazis; and (3) limited operations in Italy, a former enemy, at U.N.R.R.A. expense if Italy is unable to pay.

In planning actual operations, it was clear that the basic policy on areas of operations would seriously hamper the Administration in one of its major efforts—caring for and returning to their homes displaced nationals of the United Nations, of whom millions are now in Axis territory. These are the people who have been taken from their homes in Allied countries for forced labor or internment. It is estimated that approximately eight million such persons are in Germany alone. Furthermore, some health and sanitary activities will be

necessary throughout Europe to prevent a serious threat to the life and health of all Europeans. To meet these fundamental needs, a resolution introduced by the United Kingdom authorized the Administration, without prior approval by the Council, to carry out operations in enemy territory to control epidemics in order to prevent their spread and to care for and repatriate displaced nationals of the United Nations.

Another urgent problem confronting the Council was to provide a means of aiding the victims of Nazi persecution of enemy nationality, especially the Jews. The Administration was authorized to care for and return home persons of other than United Nations nationality found in either liberated or enemy territory if they have been obliged to leave their homes or have been deported by the enemy because of race, religion, or activities in favor of the United Nations.

Aid to Italy.—Whether activities in addition to those authorized for enemy or former enemy areas should be undertaken in Italy was a much more controversial question. The United States member, Dean Acheson, proposed that the Administration undertake a limited program of aid to Italian victims of war, including (1) provision of medical and sanitary aid and supplies, (2) assistance in the care and return to their homes of displaced persons, and (3) care of and welfare services for children and expectant and nursing mothers. The proposal severely limited this aid by providing that its cost in foreign exchange to U.N.R.R.A. should not exceed \$50,000,000.

The United States member urged such assistance because Italy, though formerly an enemy, is now fighting with the Allies against the Germans and has great needs that cannot be met by the military authorities—the needs of preg-

nant women, children, and people from other places who have congregated in large cities for protection and the general need for medical and health activities. He cited the present infant mortality rate in Rome as 500 out of every 1,000 children born and the adult mortality rate as 10 per 100. He spoke of the importance of improved conditions in liberated Italy to the morale of other peoples awaiting liberation and of the United Nations' responsibility for Italy.

One by one, the victims of Fascist Italy—Yugoslavia, Greece, and Ethiopia—described in highly moving words the outrages suffered by their peoples during Italian invasion and occupation but said they would not oppose aid to certain groups of Italians. The Nazi-occupied nations feared, however, that aid to Italy might reduce the amount of assistance available to their own suffering peoples; they asked the Administration to estimate the effects of the projected Italian program on supplies and services to other countries. In making this request, the member from Norway said: "I do not see how we could defend to ourselves or to the world the taking-away, for instance, from Greece anything that had been allotted to or earmarked for her and giving it to the country which attacked her."

The following day, after re-examination of the question, the director-general was able to reassure the members on this point. He reported that the Italian operations would have but a slight effect on aid available to the United Nations. The supplying nations will have to make adjustments to the extent that sugar and fats, which are scarce, are furnished in Italy in order to prevent curtailment of supplies for other countries. Private agencies will be relied on to provide clothing to Italian war victims, so that the insufficient

stocks of clothing and shoes available to U.N.R.R.A. will not be drawn on for Italy. Sufficient medical and sanitary supplies are available to meet the requirements of the limited program. U.N.R.R.A. supervising personnel for operations in Italy probably will not exceed seventy-five, so that staff requirements are not expected to prove an excessive drain on resources.

In view of this estimate of the situation and with the reservation that it would not constitute a precedent for operations in other enemy or former enemy countries, aid to Italy was approved unanimously. In casting his vote, the Yugoslav member, who had earlier reserved his vote pending instructions from his government, stated: "Italy acted as an invading power and an occupying force in Yugoslavia. During this time, ignoring international laws, the Italian forces resorted to most brutal oppression, such as collective reprisals, execution of hostages, and mass deportations of a hundred thousand people, women and children in particular, to concentration camps in Italy." Nevertheless, he added: "The Yugoslav Government is not led by vindictiveness . . . inspired by humanitarian motives and with a desire to join in the unanimity of the Council of U.N.R.R.A. on this subject, the Yugoslav Delegation will vote for this resolution." This generous statement seemed a fitting climax to the second meeting of U.N.R.R.A. and boded well for the future of international collaboration for relief.

Relief for additional groups.—The coverage of the program was extended to certain other groups of people who might be considered of enemy or former enemy nationality. Assistance was approved for the inhabitants of the Dodecanese Islands, who are almost entirely Greeks

but for thirty years have been under Italian rule. Similar proposals concerning minorities of Yugoslav and Polish origin were withdrawn with the expectation that the adoption of the resolution on the Dodecanese Islands would constitute a precedent for aid to other population groups in a similar situation.

In accordance with a recommendation made by the United States Congress, areas under the control of any of the United Nations and of military importance stricken by famine or disease were brought within the scope of U.N.R.R.A.'s activities. This action will permit aid in such a situation as obtained in India last year.

A major area of concern to the Council involved operations in behalf of persons who have been removed from their countries of origin. In addition to approving repatriation of United Nations nationals found in enemy territory, the Council adopted, after extended consideration, two resolutions recommended by the Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons.

The way was cleared for the return to Germany of the several million Germans who are now living in occupied countries by approval of the removal and return to their own country of enemy or former enemy nationals who have been intruded into the homes of United Nations nationals in occupied areas. The consent of the government of the liberated area where these persons are found is necessary. The expense of these operations is to be borne ultimately by the enemy country.

The director-general had suggested that the Council make a statement of policy with regard to the extent to which the Administration should attempt to repatriate displaced nationals of the United Nations now in territory never occupied by the enemy. Their problem

presented a serious dilemma. Aid was urgently needed by displaced Greeks and Yugoslavs in the Middle East. On the other hand, the Administration could hardly assume the enormous burden of caring for and returning all displaced persons found in areas never occupied by the enemy. The policy laid down by the Council at Montreal to guide the Administration provides that U.N.R.R.A.'s resources for such displaced persons be used (1) mainly for congregated groups instead of individuals, (2) only for needy persons who cannot pay the cost of their return, (3) only in areas where resources to care for the persons pending repatriation are inadequate or cannot continue to be made available, and (4) only with the approval of the governments concerned.

STANDARDS OF ASSISTANCE

The second area in which the Council made major policy decisions comprised the bases of relief requirements for European countries. These bases constitute the standards that will be used in determining the need of individual countries and the amount of assistance to be given. At Atlantic City the Council provided that the director-general should compute the over-all relief requirements of Europe in conformity with bases recommended by the Committee of the Council for Europe. Five technical subcommittees of the Committee for Europe had worked for months in developing technical recommendations for bases for food, clothing, medical and sanitary supplies, and supplies for agricultural and industrial rehabilitation. These recommendations were submitted to the Council at Montreal and approved as the standards to be used in estimating requirements. The director-general, however, may make any adjustments necessary because of shortages of supplies in

order to promote an equitable distribution. To provide for any additional types of supplies that might be needed, the Administration was authorized to adopt bases for other articles and supplies. This provision will enable the Administration to purchase equipment and supplies needed in administering welfare services, such as articles required for nurseries and child-feeding and health centers.

Food.—Estimates of food requirements of a country are to be based on the average daily consumption of 2,650 calories per person in the total population. To compute the amount of relief supplies that must be brought in, the supplies available from local production are to be deducted from the total estimate based on this standard. In some situations it will be necessary to provide the full 2,650 calories per person a day to people who are entirely destitute of supplies because of the scorched-earth policy before liberation or the breakdown of transportation. The immediate creation of a special "strategic relief reserve" was recommended to meet need in full in such situations. In addition, it was recommended on the advice of the Expert Commission on Nutrition of the Subcommittee on Health for Europe that pregnant women and nursing mothers, children up to thirteen years of age, and sick people should have certain quantities of milk and eggs as shown in Table 1. The Expert Commission on Nutrition recommended that the highest priority for supplies of fresh eggs be given to children up to three years of age and that expectant and nursing mothers have priority over older children and sick people. In addition, certain supplements of vitamins and minerals were recommended for these groups and for adolescents aged fourteen to eighteen. Furthermore, special diets were

recommended for populations whose health has been seriously undermined by prolonged existence barely above the starvation level, or in areas where dietary deficiencies have been widespread. The provision of these diets is regarded by U.N.R.R.A. as part of medical treatment to restore normal health.

It is hoped that enough wheat can be provided to permit the derationing of bread as early as possible in all Allied liberated areas. The establishment of a reserve pool of wheat for this purpose was recommended, as was also the import of salt and scarce commodities of high morale value, such as coffee, cocoa, and flavorings.

Clothing and textiles.—The standard adopted for use in estimating initial requirements of liberated populations for clothing and textiles is intended to provide the minimum required for health, warmth, and working efficiency. It is measured in British clothing coupons, as shown in Table 2. This standard does not include clothing for work purposes, for which requirements are to be estimated separately. The Council also approved a recommendation of a standard of forty-two coupons per adult per annum for replacements of clothing, including occupational clothing, and towels, blankets, knitting wool, and mending yarn; for children the standard is forty coupons, which does not include occupational clothing. The standard for footwear is one pair of wearable shoes or boots per person. Whether finished articles of clothing and footwear or raw materials for their manufacture will be supplied will depend on conditions in individual countries.

Medical supplies.—The medical requirements of a country are to be determined on the basis of (1) total population; (2) pre-war medical facilities calculated on the basis of numbers of hospi-

tal beds and doctors, with consideration of the extent of medical development evidenced by polyclinics, dispensaries, and institutes of preventive medicine; and (3) the best available estimates of current deficiency in supplies and facilities. The Council recommended that requirements for the control of epidemics and special provision to cope with a

TABLE 1

	Whole Milk (Cc. per Day)*	Eggs (No. per Week)†
Expectant mothers—last six months of pregnancy.....	750	3
Mothers—first six months after delivery.....	750	3
Children:		
0-3 years.....	750	3
4-7 years.....	500	1‡
8-13 years.....	250‡
Sick persons.....	500	3‡

* 946.3 cc. = 1 quart of milk.

† Fresh eggs or equivalent quantity of dried eggs.

‡ Minimum.

TABLE 2

	Adult (14 Years and Over)	Child (1-13 Years)	Infant (Under 1 Year)
For clothing.....	61	34	20
For household textiles	14	8	8

high incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases, such as gastrointestinal and skin conditions, should have the highest possible priority. It also advised establishment of a contingency reserve of supplies for distribution as required for the control of epidemics and for operations in behalf of displaced persons.

Supplies for agricultural and industrial rehabilitation.—On the recommendation of the Subcommittee on Agriculture for Europe, the Council approved the fulfillment of a program of maximum food production during the first year of relief

as the basis of requirements for materials for agricultural rehabilitation. Specific recommendations were made for various kinds of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural machinery, food-processing equipment, veterinary supplies, fisheries, and livestock.

The Council approved a report prepared by the Subcommittee on Industrial Rehabilitation for Europe, which set forth principles to govern the kinds of industry that are eligible for U.N.R.R.A.'s assistance, the degree and order in which assistance should be given, and the types of supplies that may be needed. U.N.R.R.A.'s responsibility for industrial rehabilitation is limited to the repair and restoration of (1) industries producing goods or raw materials for goods needed for relief, such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and medical supplies and (2) industries related to the provision of public services such as water, sanitation, electricity, gas, transportation, and communication. The scope of U.N.R.R.A.'s activities does not include new construction or reconstruction work but only restoration to meet immediate basic needs. Adoption of the bases of requirements established priorities for activities in this field. First priority is to be given to (1) essential replacements and maintenance of inland transportation and communication, including railway, highway, water, terminal warehousing, and storage facilities; (2) restoration of public utilities and other essential services; and (3) restoration of facilities and services essential for general maintenance and repair of essential transportation, utility, industrial, and relief activity.

A second order of priority is to be given to consumers' goods and producers' and capital goods industries. Raw materials and equipment, however, are to be furnished to these industries for

the maintenance of civilian relief, such as the manufacture of clothing, shoes, soap, and materials for building repair and shelter.

Believing that the problems of industrial rehabilitation vary greatly from industry to industry and from country to country and that there is no objective criterion, as for food, the Council on the advice of its technical committee did not consider detailed bases for each commodity required for industrial rehabilitation. Instead it adopted the broad approach of outlining principles to guide in estimating requirements in each of the fields of operations to be given priority.

PRIORITIES IN ASSISTANCE

A resolution was adopted providing that "special weight and urgency shall be given to the needs" of countries that have suffered most from hostilities, enemy occupation, and active resistance to the enemy. In its original form this resolution would have given priority in assistance to such countries and thus would have seriously modified the policy of giving assistance in accordance with need.

SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

The basic policy adopted at the first Council session that rehabilitation is not to be considered as the beginning of reconstruction but is "coterminous with relief"¹ was reinforced at Montreal by a resolution accepting reservations made by the United States Congress in authorizing appropriations for participation by the United States in U.N.R.R.A. One of these reservations was that "rehabilitation means and is confined only to such activities as are necessary to relief."² This statement was reinforced

¹ Council Resolution No. 12, par. 11.

² *Public Law* 267, sec. 7.

by expressed approval by the Congress of the definition of rehabilitation adopted at Atlantic City which includes "the administration cannot be called upon to help restore continuous employment in the world."³ Other reservations specified that no amendment involving new obligations for member-governments of U.N.R.R.A. shall be binding upon the United States without approval by joint resolution of Congress; that the Congress is the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount, character, and time of United States contributions; and that U.N.R.R.A. is not authorized to incur obligations beyond the limits of its resources.

In view of the limited character of U.N.R.R.A.'s functions in relation to rehabilitation, some concern was expressed at Montreal about the urgency of international collaboration for far-reaching measures of rehabilitation and reconstruction. The director-general in his report stated:

Achievement of the Administration's limited objectives can only set the stage for recovery and reconstruction. Financial arrangements must be completed that will enable all liberated countries to begin promptly to import adequate amounts of those types and quantities of supplies that are beyond the scope of relief and rehabilitation. There must be concerted economic action in fields other than relief and rehabilitation if recovery and reconstruction in the liberated countries is to be assured.⁴

The Council adopted a resolution introduced by Czechoslovakia, which stressed that the limited functions of U.N.R.R.A. in rehabilitation "make it all the more necessary to provide at the earliest possible moment measures for such rehabilitation and reconstruction as the Administration cannot itself un-

dertake, particularly in the fields of industrial production and inland transport." It called the attention of the member-governments to the fact that U.N.R.R.A. activities alone cannot prevent lack of supplies or large-scale unemployment and to the urgency of providing means for joint consideration of problems of continued rehabilitation and for successfully resolving them through international co-operation.

OTHER COUNCIL ACTION

In addition to the decisions made in these major areas of concern, the Council at its second session took action in relation to health measures, membership, and various financial and administrative matters.

An important accomplishment of the Montreal session was the completion and approval in principle of revisions of the International Sanitary Convention of 1926 and the International Convention for Aerial Navigation of 1933. International procedures for quarantine and control of epidemic diseases were maintained under these two conventions before the war. Changes had become necessary because of new knowledge and improved methods of disease control and because of the increased volume and speed of air transportation. Recommendations for important changes were prepared by an expert commission of the European Subcommittee on Health. Such changes were being considered by the International Office of Public Health in Paris when its operations were ended by the war. Under the resolution, if the conventions are ultimately adopted, U.N.R.R.A. is to undertake, on an emergency basis, the functions for interchange of epidemiological information throughout the world formerly performed by the International Office in

³ *Ibid.*, sec. 3.

⁴ U.N.R.R.A., *Report of the Director General to the Second Session of the Council, September 1944*, p. 39.

Paris until that office is able to resume its activities.

Two membership questions were voted on. In preparation for the liberation of Denmark in the near future, the Council authorized the Central Committee to admit Denmark to membership before the next Council session if, following liberation, a suitable Danish government should apply for membership. India, because of her importance as a supplier of relief goods, was made a member of the Committee on Supplies, which is composed of the chief supplying nations.

Most important of the measures taken at this session with regard to finance and administration was the adoption of an administrative budget of \$11,500,000 for the calendar year 1945. The allocation of this expense among the member-governments was substantially the same as for 1944. The United States will continue to provide 40 per cent and the United Kingdom, 15 per cent of the budget.

At Montreal the Council did much to clarify the extent and character of U.N.R.R.A.'s responsibilities and the policies it will follow in discharging its responsibilities. Action taken at the second Council session represented significant steps in final preparation for actual operations.

THE URGENCY OF CO-OPERATION

The session both began and ended on the note of urgent need for co-operation and action by member-governments. The director-general's report stressed the importance of the governments of occupied and liberated areas making their decisions and informing the Administration as to the amount and character of services they will require from U.N.R.R.A. In the discussion that fol-

lowed the presentation of the director-general's report, the United States member called on the governments to make their financial contributions, to contribute their best personnel, and to speed their decisions with regard to aid from U.N.R.R.A.: "We are now at a period of action. We are at a time when, whether we like it or not, we must stop planning, we must stop meeting, we must stop talking, and we must act."

At the close of the session the director-general again called attention to the difficulties that beset the Administration and its dependence on the co-operation of both the military and the member-governments. He pointed out that the degree of co-operation that the Administration receives from the military authorities, the Allied Control Commission, and the national agencies of supplying countries may make a difference of many weeks in the speed with which, for example, the program in Italy can be begun and carried on. The director-general's final appeal was:

Our plans in many areas are still unfortunately shrouded with uncertainty as to the plans and policies of the military and the governments, and thus our work is handicapped. I hope with all my heart, and I ask for your assistance, that the governments and the military will realize this, and give us the direction and assistance on which we absolutely must depend for effective and timely action.

.... The future success of U.N.R.R.A. will have to be built on a cornerstone of continued whole-hearted cooperation and support of governments and of peoples.

DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

The joining of the United Nations together—the supplying and the receiving nations alike—to provide relief to needy nations in their own membership has resulted in the establishment of new

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basic concepts in international relief. These concepts, in common with current social work practice in this country, stem from democratic principles. There is, accordingly, a striking similarity between the concepts governing relations of U.N.R.R.A. and the nations and those underlying the administration of assistance to individuals. U.N.R.R.A. for the first time applies these concepts to nations. It is of particular interest to social workers that the principles evolved by diplomatic representatives for providing assistance to stricken countries on a self-respecting basis and with the participation of the receiving nations should so closely resemble those used currently in administering assistance to individuals.

The first of these, even though perhaps in a rudimentary form, is the concept of assistance as a right. In the debate on aid to Italy, several members referred to the *right to assistance* which the member-nations have by virtue of membership. For example, the French representative said, in seconding the resolution providing for the Italian program, "U.N.R.R.A. will not recognize to an ex-enemy . . . the right to assistance enjoyed by the United Nations but . . . only the benefit of benevolent charity."

The second concept to be observed in U.N.R.R.A. policies is the right to self-direction on the part of the recipient nation. U.N.R.R.A. will operate in an area only at the invitation of the government or recognized authority and will work only with and through the government, the people, and their institutions and organizations. U.N.R.R.A. makes its resources and services available to needy countries to use in accordance with joint agreements.

Third, whether assistance is to be

given to an area and the character and amount of assistance are to be determined on the basis of need. Plans for relief operations in the different countries will be adjusted to their varying conditions. In some areas assistance will take the form of relief supplies and services, while in others it will take the form of specialized services only. Governments which are in a position to purchase supplies are to do so. Those that do not have foreign exchange will receive supplies without obligation for present or future payment.

Fourth, in determining the need of a country and the amount of assistance to be provided, objective criteria are used and requirements and resources are both taken into consideration in much the same way as is ordinarily done in making an assistance plan for an individual recipient. The first step is the adoption of a standard defining the minimum of the essentials of life that all peoples should have—as was done at Montreal. The next step is to determine the requirements of a given country according to the accepted standard. As a third step, the local resources of the country are estimated. The last step is to compute the difference between local resources and the standard—the amount of the relief requirements of the country.

Social workers will have a stake in the effective carrying-out of these principles in actual operations as U.N.R.R.A. goes into action in the field. Its experience with these concepts in international relations may in turn influence the development of social work practice at home.

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD*

* The opinions expressed in this article are those of the writer and do not represent the official views of the Social Security Board.

CHILD LABOR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THIS NATION'S THIRD YEAR OF WAR¹

BEATRICE MCCONNELL

THE injunction "In time of peace prepare for war" is equally important when reversed—"In time of war prepare for peace." Thus the Children's Bureau, particularly in this year when the tide of war has turned so definitely toward victory for the United Nations, has carried on its activities relating to child labor and youth employment with two aims—to meet pressing war problems and to meet them in such a way as to prepare for peace.

CHILD LABOR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT—THE 1943-44 PICTURE

Between 1940 and 1944, children and young persons in the United States became a vital part of the war labor force. At an increasing tempo boys and girls under eighteen years of age—and more and more of them under sixteen years of age—have taken their places as full-time and part-time workers in aircraft and other war production factories and in hotels, restaurants, offices, laundries, bowling alleys, moving-picture theaters, and mercantile establishments of all kinds, as well as in agriculture. Realizing that there was scarcely a type of employment that was not demanding and obtaining recruits from this young age group, the Children's Bureau has secured as much information as possible about the extent and nature of their employment. Such information is an es-

sential background for fulfilling its commitment for the working children of the nation—that is, to aid in directing the employment of children and youth so that they have protection from premature employment, opportunity to develop physically and mentally to their fullest capacity, and proper safeguards while at work for their safety, health, and welfare.

EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

As the basis for planning and for consultation work with public and private agencies, the Children's Bureau has used the rough figures for the number of working minors fourteen through seventeen years of age obtained in the sample labor-force surveys that the Bureau of the Census has been making since 1940 to supplement the decennial census of that year.

In April, 1944, while schools were still in session, the most reliable estimates available showed nearly three million boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age in full-time or part-time work—almost a third of the total population of these ages, and more than three times as many as when the census was taken in March, 1940. Of these three million young persons, somewhat less than a million were fourteen and fifteen, and around two million were sixteen and seventeen years of age.

These figures indicate for the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds not only a consider-

¹ A report of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor for the year ended June 30, 1944.

able increase in total numbers but also, even more significantly, proportionately larger increases for these younger children than for the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds. Almost one out of every five of the population of this younger age group was at work in April, 1944, as compared with about one out of every eight in April, 1943.

In July, 1944, during school vacation, when the seasonal farm-labor increase was well under way, there were roughly five million boys and girls fourteen through seventeen at work, approximating the peak of the previous year's labor force of young persons of these ages. In addition, thousands of children under fourteen, for whom there is no official count, are employed both during the school year and in vacation.

Likewise, very large increases during this war period in the number of young workers fourteen through seventeen years of age are shown in the reports of employment certificates issued for children going to work, collected by the Children's Bureau. In areas reporting for all four years there was a rise of around 300 per cent in 1942 over 1940 in the number of young workers obtaining certificates for full-time or part-time work, and a further increase in 1943 over 1942 that amounted to more than 85 per cent. In actual figures the number of young workers fourteen through seventeen years of age obtaining certificates for full-time or part-time work in these reporting areas increased from 174,739 in 1940 to 1,322,331 in 1943. Incomplete figures for the first six months of 1944 indicate that the high level of 1943 is being maintained for these young workers.)

Again, in employment certificate records the tendency to reach down into the group of children under sixteen is

apparent. In the states and cities reporting for both 1942 and 1943, the increase in the latter over the previous year was proportionately much greater for the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds than for the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds (147 per cent and 64 per cent, respectively). In the incomplete figures for the first six months of 1944, which for the whole group show only a slight increase as compared with the corresponding period of 1943, the number of fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds reported as obtaining certificates for work increased 16 per cent, while the number of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds remained practically stationary.

Young workers under eighteen have given militant service in filling the breach caused by the draft and the absorption of the older experienced workers into war industries. In April, 1944, a million and a half of the six and a half million excess over normal in the labor force and the armed services were boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age.

SPECIAL WARTIME PROBLEMS

Throughout this period the Children's Bureau has been concerned with the effect on education of this increasing employment both of children leaving school for work and of children still attending school. As to the first group, large numbers have cut short their normal education to enter full-time employment, some attracted by high wages, others through patriotic motives, still others because of the restlessness brought about by war conditions. High-school enrolment for the country as a whole decreased by about a million—14 per cent—between 1940 and 1943; many cities report larger decreases. A part of this drop, but probably not more than about a fourth, was

due to a decrease in the population of this age group and to the entrance of a small number into the Armed Forces. But by far the greater part was due to children leaving school for work.

For the children under sixteen years of age during the years immediately before the war, full-time employment was the exception, most employment of children of these ages being in jobs outside school hours and during vacations. In the past few years, at the same time that increasingly large numbers of children under sixteen were leaving school for full-time work, employment outside school hours or during vacation has increased still more rapidly.

To get further information about children out of school and those carrying a double load of school and work, the Children's Bureau early in 1944 made arrangements with the Bureau of the Census to include questions on school attendance in its April sample labor-force survey. It was found that of the estimated 3,000,000 boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age at work, about half were out of school and half were combining school and work. Among the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds at work, about twice as many were attending school (600,000) as were out of school (250,000); in the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old group the number of out-of-school workers (1,100,000) was 38 per cent greater than the number attending school and working (800,000).

In 1940, according to the federal census of that year, less than 200,000 school boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age (exclusive of those employed on emergency-work programs), or only 2 per cent of the number attending school, were at work. Compared with this small number, the April, 1944, estimates show that 1,400,000, or 20 per

cent of the boys and girls of these ages who were attending school, were also working. The highest proportion of working students, about 41 per cent, was found among boys sixteen and seventeen years of age, but of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds attending school, more than one-fifth (21 per cent) of the boys and 7 per cent of the girls were working.

Further evidence of the increase in outside-school-hours employment of the younger children—those less than sixteen—is given in the number of certificates reported to the Children's Bureau for employment of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children during vacation or outside school hours. This number in 1943 was more than a quarter of a million, compared with considerably less than 50,000 in 1940; these figures do not give the whole picture for part-time and vacation workers of these ages, because certificates are not required for many types of out-of-school employment and reports were not received from all states. Moreover, illegal employment has always been found to be much more extensive in connection with children's work outside school hours and in vacation than in connection with work that requires the child to leave school and therefore brings his employment to the attention of the school authorities.

All available information points to the fact that much of this employment was harmful to both the health and the educational progress of the young person. Though some desirable part-time work and school programs under adequate supervision were set up, in many cases such programs were promoted without consideration of other sources of labor or the need for protective measures to prevent these children from working for too long hours, at night, and under unsuitable or illegal conditions. There was

obviously great need for the promotion of national standards and planning for guidance of programs for this type of employment. The standards and policies for part-time employment of school youth, developed by the Children's Bureau with the War Manpower Commission and the Office of Education, were agreed upon and issued early in September, 1943. A strong stimulus to their use was given by their indorsement in March, 1944, by the four government agencies most directly concerned with the production of war goods—the War Department and the Navy Department, the Maritime Commission, and the War Production Board. These standards have received wide publicity through both public and private agencies dealing with employment of children and youth, and there is no doubt that they have been influential in calling attention to the responsibility of the community and of employers to protect these young workers and have helped to better conditions.

Another wartime aspect of youth employment that has aroused concern is the widespread migration of boys and, to a lesser extent, of girls, sixteen and seventeen years of age and to some extent fourteen and fifteen, for work in war-industry centers where they are separated from their families. Many of the large war industries have been sending their agents out through the country to recruit new workers, and an increasingly large number of young people under eighteen years of age are being added to the labor force. This has been a natural development in the war period, and the public in general has scarcely been aware of its dangers and of the situations that are arising in the communities to which the young people are being drawn. A brief survey made by the Bureau in

February, 1944, covering six large industrial cities or centers located in different sections of the country, has served to emphasize the seriousness of this situation.

Upon arrival at their place of employment these boys and girls are immediately swallowed up in the vast army of older war workers who have preceded them to the locality. Without relatives or ties of any kind in the community, these boys and girls are their own masters. They are entirely free from supervision, and only by chance do they come into contact with the stabilizing influence of the community.

In fact, we have in America today a transient-youth problem as serious in many ways as that experienced in the depression years of 1932 and 1933. The incentives, the work opportunities, and the modes of travel are very different; but, for many, living conditions are as bad, the dangers of new companionships are as great, and the effect on the young people of complete release from parental authority and supervision of any kind is the same. Although the number now is smaller, these war migrants are, on the whole, younger and probably less able to plan for themselves. Local prejudice, which was so strong against the migrant in the depression era, continues, though the reasons for it are somewhat different; and the needs of these young people are seldom considered in the course of community planning. Conditions found in this survey demand better community services for these young people and indicate clearly that, unless these services are provided and plans are made for this group in preparation for the reconversion period, the fruitless and disruptive wandering in search of employment that occurred in 1932 and the years immediately following may be repeated.

STATE LEGISLATIVE ACTION

During the year 1944 the legislatures of eight states met in regular session: Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia. Acts relating specifically to child labor or to compulsory school attendance were enacted in four of these eight states (Kentucky, Louisiana, New York, and Virginia) and also in one state having a special legislative session (Michigan).

Some of the legislation enacted by these five states lowered child labor or school attendance standards or continued for another year legislation relaxing such standards. It is especially significant, however, that, with children in increasing numbers leaving school for work, three of the five states (Louisiana, Virginia, and Michigan) improved their compulsory school attendance requirements. As a result of this improvement in compulsory school attendance legislation in Louisiana and Virginia, raising the upper age for compulsory school attendance to sixteen, there are now only two states (Georgia and North Carolina) that do not have an upper age for compulsory school attendance of at least sixteen years, state-wide in application. It must be borne in mind, however, that the full value of a sixteen-year school attendance standard cannot be realized as long as the majority of the state child labor laws have a lower minimum age than sixteen for employment during school hours and as long as exemption from school attendance is permitted for fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children who go to work.

STIMULATION OF STATE AND COMMUNITY ACTION

The unprecedented increase in employment of children and the develop-

ment of new youth problems have made many communities aware of increased need of protection for minors at work, the threat of the loss of education to their future ability, and the coming problems after the war, when these young inexperienced workers will no longer be in such great demand and there will be another host of boys and girls coming out of school and knocking at the doors of an already crowded labor market. For this reason there has been an increasing number of requests for help from the Children's Bureau in appraising what the needs are and in finding ways of meeting them, both now and in the period immediately following the demobilization of war manpower. Many youth-serving organizations, as well as some of the more temporary agencies especially concerned with wartime problems in congested areas, have broadened their activities to include these new developments. In some states, state departments of labor and of education have taken leadership within their states.

Co-operative work has been carried on with many different groups, for instance, with state and local committees on children in wartime or their sub-committees or advisory councils; governors' committees; state farm labor committees; or, particularly where no formal state-action committees have been set up, with private organizations, such as parent-teacher associations, councils of social agencies, leagues of women voters, and various types of youth-serving agencies.

These contacts with state and community groups have covered encouragement of extension of committees to widen the interests represented, development and application to particular programs of good standards for employment of children in agriculture, betterment of

conditions of part-time employment of school children, improvement in child labor or compulsory school attendance legislation, supervision of young workers away from home, efforts to return children to school after vacation employment, and many other child labor problems.

CHILD LABOR IN AGRICULTURE

During the past year the major emphasis in the program of the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau to bring about better protection of the very large numbers of city and village youth being recruited for wartime work in agriculture was devoted to the promotion and amplification of the standards already developed in the handbook entitled *Guides to Successful Employment of Nonfarm Youth in Wartime Agriculture*. The War Food Administration estimated that 400,000 youth under eighteen years of age would be placed in farm jobs by official placement agencies in the summer of 1943 and that 700,000 in all would be employed. A brief survey in 1942 had shown that the administration of most of the programs for employment of such young persons was inadequate and that further co-operation and planning were essential if improved patterns of employment were to be developed on any wide scale. The Children's Bureau has continued to work with the War Food Administration and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture to this end.

In order to give the persons actually operating the programs in local areas the impetus and backing of public opinion for safeguarding youth, the Bureau has worked with interested national, state, and community committees and groups in a limited number of places to encourage them to draw up standards

adapted to local conditions and to get these standards adopted by all agencies and organizations concerned with the employment of children and youth in agriculture in their localities.

A closer working relationship with national youth-serving agencies has been developed through work with their Inter-agency Committee on Youth in Wartime Agriculture. This committee has approved the Children's Bureau standards as set forth in *Good Conditions Make for Good Results when Boys and Girls Work on Farms* and *Boys and Girls Employed in Agricultural Programs—1943*. It has recommended to regional, state, and local officials that local programs be arranged in accordance with these standards and has urged that representatives of the youth-serving agencies serve on state and local youth farm-labor committees.

As developed up to the present time, with modifications and additions formulated in the light of experience and with the advice of the Subcommittee on Young Workers in Wartime Agriculture under the General Advisory Committee on Protection of Young Workers, organized by the Children's Bureau, the standards recommended for employment of children on farms in this war emergency include: A fourteen-year minimum age, with a sixteen-year minimum for those who are to live in farm homes or camps not run by a recognized youth-serving agency; medical examination and consent of parent; preparation for the work; regulation of working hours; and provision for supervision, fair wages, safeguards from injury and illness, and insurance against accidents.

CO-OPERATION WITH FEDERAL AGENCIES

The important place that young workers have taken in the labor market dur-

ing the war has brought about a greater need than perhaps ever before for co-operative relationships between the Children's Bureau and other federal agencies that for one reason or another have dealt with youth employment. These relationships have included promotion of employment standards for civilian minor workers employed by federal agencies, such workers being subject to neither state nor federal legislation, and consultative and informational service on programs involving the use of minors under eighteen.

Because of the large numbers of workers that have entered various types of federal employment, the efforts of the Industrial Division, begun even before the war, to obtain voluntary acceptance of legal standards, both state and federal, by federal agencies have been intensified during the past year. Especially where such employment became concentrated, as in cities where large ordnance plants were located, the situation of young persons leaving school for work without complying with the requirements set up by the state for youth entering private employment added difficulties to the enforcement of state standards for private industry and caused resentment on the part of the community and state officials. During the past year both the War Department and the Navy Department, working closely with the Industrial Division, have set up regulations for employment of young persons under eighteen that establish high standards for their young workers. The War Department directives require conformance to both state and federal child labor and school attendance laws and also establish standards substantially in accord with the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The Navy Department in its circular

letter regarding labor standards for its civilian workers establishes a sixteen-year minimum age for employment in naval establishments, except for non-civil service employees in Ship's Service, and requires observance of the "Policies for Part-Time Employment of School Youth," heretofore mentioned, for sixteen- and seventeen-year-old minors who are attending school, except for apprentices under the Navy's own apprenticeship program. Though conformance is not made mandatory, the letter states that the Department desires its establishments to conform to both state and federal child labor laws. It is understood that this discretion is permitted to provide an opportunity for deviation from the standards established by state and federal laws in emergency situations when faced with critical manpower shortages.

The Children's Bureau has also made available to a number of other federal agencies its experience and advice on needed safeguards and protective measures for employed youth and has served as a clearing-house of information on particular aspects of state and federal legislation. Its liaison relationship with the War Manpower Commission has continued throughout the year, and the Commission has consistently co-operated with the Children's Bureau in promoting good employment practices for minors.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Children's Bureau is responsible for carrying out the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 that relate to child labor, while the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts divisions of the Department of Labor are responsible for carrying out the provisions relating to wages and hours of workers

of all ages. These child labor provisions affect the employment of children and young persons under eighteen years of age by employers who produce goods shipped or delivered for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce. The basic minimum age for employment in establishments covered by the act is sixteen, but employment outside school hours is allowed for fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children in occupations other than manufacturing and mining, in occupations and under conditions found by the Children's Bureau not to be harmful to their education, health, or well-being. For work in occupations found and declared by the chief of the Bureau to be particularly hazardous, on the other hand, the minimum age is eighteen. In enforcing these provisions, the Bureau works with state and local agencies and accepts state employment or age certificates as evidence of age under the act. This co-operation with the states has promoted good methods of issuing certificates and has aided in preventing illegal employment under both state and federal law.

At the beginning of the fiscal year, July, 1943—June, 1944, the Bureau faced its responsibilities in the administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act with a decrease since 1940 of more than 25 per cent in its appropriation for this purpose and with an increase since 1940 in numbers of young persons fourteen through seventeen years of age at work of more than 200 per cent. During this year, pressures to use children of all ages in all types of industry have grown from month to month. Requests for relaxation of the federal standards have also increased, becoming intensified in the spring of 1944. For nonmanufacturing industries two relaxations only, permitting exten-

sion of employment of fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds have been made, and these only after careful consideration of all the facts and advice from the War Manpower Commission as to possibilities of other sources of labor.

The first of these relaxations, effective October 9, 1943, and limited to the war period, allows fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children to head and peel shrimp for shipment as fresh raw or fresh frozen shrimp, when the work is carried on outside school hours and in compliance with the other provisions of Regulation No. 3, issued under authority of the act, with the condition that they may be employed up to 8:00 P.M., but not more than six days in any seven-day period. A meal period of not less than forty-five minutes must be allowed after not more than five hours of work, and pure drinking water, adequate washing facilities, and adequate sanitary toilet facilities must be available within the immediate proximity of each packing shed.

The second relaxation, effective November 11, 1943, permitted the employment outside school hours of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children in the picking of turkeys during the period between November 11, 1943, and December 31, 1943, only. Such employment was limited to six days in any seven-day period, and the same regulations as to meal periods and sanitary conditions were imposed as are required for the heading and peeling of shrimp. Certificates of age were required to be on file for each fourteen- or fifteen-year-old child, and the employer was required to keep, during the effective period of the amendment and for one year thereafter, a record containing the name and address of each child so employed and the hours worked each day and each week by each child.

Undoubtedly the sixteen-year mini-

mum-age standard of the federal act has done much to prevent wholesale employment of young children during the war and has helped greatly to uphold state standards.

THE INSPECTION PROGRAM

To meet the dilemma of increased employment of children subject to the federal act and decreased appropriations for its enforcement, the Bureau has relied on the inspection staff of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions for the great bulk of child labor inspections. Under an arrangement agreed upon by the chief of the Children's Bureau and the administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, wage-hour inspectors inspect not only for child labor in all establishments inspected for the wage and hour provisions of the act, but also make special child labor inspections as recommended by the Children's Bureau. Plans for child labor inspections are made jointly, and consultation and assistance in the child labor aspects of the inspection work is given by Children's Bureau staff through "training inspections" and in other ways. During the past year there has been a marked expansion in the number of child labor inspections made by the staff of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions and an increased awareness of the importance of the child labor aspects of the program. On the other hand, the child labor consultants who have been assigned to the regional Wage and Hour and Public Contracts offices have given consultant and advisory service on child labor inspection procedure in connection with the Public Contracts Act.

A technique which has been used with success in some parts of the country and which probably will be more widely fol-

lowed in the future was a series of child labor clinics held in places where there seemed to be considerable misunderstanding of the child labor provisions. These clinics were directed to employers, union members, and workers generally. A representative of the state department of labor, as well as the officer responsible for issuing certificates of age in the community, or someone from the local school superintendent's office, assisted the Children's Bureau representatives in carrying on these clinics. The associate child labor consultant, who often presided, explained the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the rules and regulations. The questions and discussions covered the state as well as the federal child labor laws. These clinics were apparently very successful in publicizing child labor standards and have undoubtedly helped in bringing about more general compliance with the law.

Findings of inspections.—The child labor inspections represented by cases closed during the fiscal year 1943-44 under the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act covered all forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. They totaled 4,951, as compared with 3,961 in the previous fiscal year. Because of reductions in staff the number of inspections made by Children's Bureau representatives decreased markedly, dropping from 824 in the fiscal year 1943 to 362 in the fiscal year 1944. There has been a large increase, however, in the positive-findings cases² reported by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions,

² "Positive findings" is the term used to refer to reports on establishments found to be employing minors in violation of the child labor provisions or without certificates of age on file for minors under eighteen or minors eighteen and nineteen employed in occupations covered by hazardous occupations orders.

which numbered 4,460 in the fiscal year 1944, as compared with 2,959 in 1943 and 2,161 in 1942.

Industries inspected by the Children's Bureau staff.—With reduction of staff and with arrangements made for child labor inspections by Wage and Hour inspectors, the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau no longer has a child labor inspection staff. A staff of four persons is maintained for field work in connection with special problems that may arise, such as carrying out necessary work in the various states with respect to the age certification program in seeing that age certificates are available to employers; special investigations necessitated by petitions for modification of the regulations that have been established for the employment of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children or for modification of hazardous occupations orders; investigation of complaints of violations of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, when such service from the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions is not available; and in emergencies making special child labor inspections or investigations.

Such special inspections during the past as were made by the division staff were chiefly in the canning and packing industries. An effort was made to investigate all types of establishments where a review of state certificates indicated that minors under sixteen were employed. It was not possible to give as much detailed attention to the canning and packing industries as in past years, though the need for continued concentration in this area is shown by the fact that more than half the establishments inspected were found employing minors contrary to the act.

Child labor violations found.—The extreme and increasing pressure on child labor standards during this nation's third war year is nowhere more clearly evidenced than in the increase in violations of the child labor provisions of the federal act. The number of violating establishments and the number of minors illegally employed in the year ending June 30, 1944, almost equal the number in the two preceding years combined. The total of establishments in violation in 1944 was 2,938, as compared with 1,294 in 1942, an increase of 127 per cent, and the total of minors illegally em-

TABLE 1
TREND OF CHILD LABOR VIOLATIONS
FISCAL YEARS 1942, 1943, 1944

Fiscal Year Ending	Establishment in Violation	Minors Illegal- ly Employed
June 30, 1942.....	1,294	4,083
June 30, 1943.....	1,722	4,567
June 30, 1944.....	2,938	8,436

ployed was 8,436, as compared with 4,083 in 1942, an increase of 107 per cent (Table 1).

Violations were found in every state or jurisdiction where inspections were made and in every main industry group. The lumber and timber basic-products industry showed the largest proportion of establishments in violation (447, or 15 per cent of the total establishments employing 977 minors illegally), and the food and kindred-products industry (including canning and packing fruits, vegetables, and seafoods) showed the largest number of minors illegally employed (1,594, or 19 per cent of the total minors in 395 establishments). Large numbers of violations were also found in the industries shown in Table 2. Many of the minors illegally employed were very

young—482, or 6 per cent, were under fourteen years of age; some were as young as eight years; and 116 were under twelve years of age. Half of the children under twelve years were in the canning and packing industry.

The large number of minors found employed contrary to Hazardous Occupations Orders—1,584 who were sixteen or seventeen years of age and 260 who were younger than sixteen—is indicative of the risks to which young workers are being subjected in this war period. The largest number (671 of the older group and 66 of the younger) were employed

TABLE 2

Product	Minors	Estab- lishments
Furniture and other finished lumber products	1,122	292
Apparel and finished fabric products	674	316
Printing, publishing, and allied products	644	212
Iron, steel, and their products ..	350	162
Paper and allied products	321	101
Textile-mill products	299	107

on power-driven woodworking machines or in prohibited off-bearing occupations. Four hundred and eighty-three of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds and 122 of those under sixteen were in logging and sawmilling occupations. A total of 437 minors, 71 of them under sixteen years of age, were employed as motor-vehicle drivers or helpers.

Disposition of violations.—So far as possible, the Children's Bureau's policy has been to enforce the child labor provisions of the act through educational methods rather than by court action. However, the number of court cases, though small, has increased each fiscal year since the beginning of the war, numbering 47 in 1942, 75 in 1943, and 121 in 1944.

Out of 104 civil suits brought by the Bureau, 100 injunctions were granted, 99 of them consent decrees. The most important of these was the Western Union case, in which a federal circuit court of appeals upheld the opinion of a federal district court that the child labor provisions of the act apply to the telegraph business. This case has been appealed by the company to the United States Supreme Court.

Convictions were obtained in all 13 of the criminal actions brought by the Children's Bureau. Two of these were against fish- and shrimp-packing companies, employing a total of 59 children under sixteen, of whom 47 were under fourteen. In a few of these cases heavy fines—from \$1,000 to \$5,000—were imposed.

This year, for the first time, criminal contempt action has been brought against employers who had signed injunctions enjoining them from future violations and who by again violating the act had placed themselves in contempt of the court decree. In all four of the cases of this type brought to court by the Bureau, fines were imposed, and in one case the employer was sentenced to thirty days in jail—the first case of sentence to imprisonment under the act.

As in the past, the bulk of the child labor violation cases were closed by sending letters calling attention to the violations and pointing out the penalties for future noncompliance. During the past year because of reduced staff it has not been possible to follow this procedure in all cases; and where a review of the case showed that the number of children involved was small, that the employer gave promise of future compliance, and that a child labor form listing the names of the underage children had been left at the time of inspection, no warning

letter was sent. This is a serious gap in the Bureau's procedures; and, because the Bureau has not been able to warn all violating employers in writing, a valuable opportunity of preventing future violations has been lost. Likewise, it has not been possible to co-operate with state labor-law-enforcing officials by reporting to them probable violations of state laws to the same extent as in the past—only 172 reports of this kind were made in 1944 as compared to the 734 in 1943.

CERTIFICATES OF AGE

The co-operative agreements between the Children's Bureau and state departments of labor or education in forty-four states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, providing for the issuance of certificates of age acceptable as proof of age under the Fair Labor Standards Act, have continued in effect during the past year. So also has the program for issuance of federal certificates of age by the Children's Bureau in the four states (Idaho, Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina) in which provision for an age certificate system is not made in the state child labor law. These state and federal certificates serve as proof of age under the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, protect employers from unintentional violation of the law, and are an important preventive measure in bringing about compliance.

Reports which the states send to the Children's Bureau monthly, giving the number of employment and age certificates issued for boys and girls fourteen through seventeen going to work, show that the increase in employment of young persons reported last year has continued, thus adding greatly to the volume of the work of issuing officers and the task of supervision of local cer-

tificate issuance by state officials. This volume of work is reflected in the number of certificates issued, including those reissued when children change jobs. From the areas reporting, these certificates show an increase from 889,542 in 1942 to 1,677,941 in 1943, or 89 per cent. Even these totals are incomplete because some of the large industrial states, in which the demand for certificates has been overwhelming, have been unable to report; it is safe to estimate, however, that the total number of certificates issued in 1943 will exceed the 2,000,000 mark.

This increase in 1943 over 1942 in all certificates issued is proportionately greater for the fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds than for the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds—147 per cent as compared with 79 per cent—a fact significant in view of the greater need of the children under sixteen for the protection from unsuitable employment intended by the law. While the preliminary figures for the first six months of 1944 compared with those for the same areas for 1943 and 1942 indicate that the number is leveling off, they also show a greater proportionate increase in the number of regular and vacation certificates issued for fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds than in the number of certificates issued for the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds.

In accepting the continued designation of the states for the use of state certificates as proof of age under the federal act this year, more and more of the state labor commissioners have emphasized the value, in their administration of state child labor standards, of the co-operative relationships which had been developed with them by the Children's Bureau in its administration of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The volume of work for the Children's Bureau in issuing federal certificates has also greatly increased, the total number of certificates issued for minors fourteen through nineteen years of age in all four states in each fiscal year rising from 11,085 for 1942 to 26,168 for 1943 and 40,512 for 1944. In Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas a greater demand for certificates was caused by the large influx of young workers into war industries or war-connected establishments—particularly textile factories in South Carolina; shipbuilding, airplane manufacturing, and telephone companies in Texas; and shipbuilding in Mississippi. In Idaho, where industries in which young workers are used have not been greatly affected by the war, the number of certificates issued in 1944 was practically the same as in 1943.

HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS PROGRAM

Prior to June, 1942, six Hazardous Occupations Orders had been issued under the power given to the chief of the Children's Bureau in the Fair Labor Standards Act to find and declare occupations particularly hazardous for the employment of minors between sixteen and eighteen years of age. These orders, which apply the eighteen-year minimum age set by the act for hazardous occupations to the industry or group of occupations covered, related to (1) explosive plants, (2) work as motor-vehicle driver or helper, (3) work in coal mines, (4) logging and sawmilling, (5) operating woodworking machines and certain types of off-bearing, and (6) occupations involving exposure to radioactive substances.

No later orders have been issued during the war, emphasis being placed on the program for developing advisory standards, which do not have the force of law, and which point out both suit-

able jobs for young persons between sixteen and eighteen in the industry covered and those too hazardous for them, as better adapted to immediate wartime needs.

Because shortages of labor and other factors threatened to make it impossible for the veneer package industry to produce sufficient containers to take care of the large prospective crop of fruits and vegetables in 1944, the Children's Bureau, on petition from the American Veneer Package Association and certain individual manufacturers, issued an order, effective for the duration of the war and six months thereafter, permitting employment of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old minors on certain of the less hazardous machines used in the manufacture of veneer fruit and vegetable baskets, hampers, or crates. This order went into effect July 12, 1944.

Many questions have been raised by employers as to the application of the orders and as to whether the employment of minors is permissible under certain specific circumstances. For example, a number of operators of explosives plants asked permission to employ sixteen- and seventeen-year-old minors in administrative areas or other parts of the plant where no explosives were used. In these cases tests were developed to determine whether the areas in question could logically be classed as separate plants in administering Hazardous Occupations Order No. 1. Other queries led to a clarification of Order No. 5, which prohibits employment of minors under eighteen on woodworking machines, to indicate that the order applies to metal-working machines used to cut wood and to woodworking machines used to cut materials other than wood.

During the fiscal year 1943-44 two new advisory standards were added to

the six already issued: No. 7, Advisory Standards for the Operation of Metal-working Machines, and No. 8, Advisory Standards for the Aircraft Industry. Before these standards were issued, studies were made of the hazards of the industries, technical advisory committees were set up to pass on the recommendations, and plans were made for their distribution and promotion. A considerable amount of work was done on other advisory standards dealing with the pulp and paper industry, textiles, and employment on railroads, but they were not completed during the fiscal year.

The Children's Bureau has received many indications that these standards have been of great value during the war period in guiding employers in the placement of their young and inexperienced workers in safe and satisfactory employment. In addition to private industry other government departments such as the War Department and the Navy Department are also using them as a guide to their placement of young and inexperienced workers.

YOUTH IN THE RECONVERSION PERIOD

The Children's Bureau during the past year has geared its child labor and youth employment activities to war and wartime necessities, but it has also attempted to see in every wartime situation not only the immediate need that relates to carrying on the war but also the long-run needs of the nation for its young people, for whom, in fact, the war itself is being fought. These two ends, it is true, often can be served at the same time and by the same methods. For instance, good standards for employment of young workers, whether in general private employment, in part-time school and work programs, or in agriculture, as well as prevention of their employ-

ment in especially hazardous occupations, probably actually increase the sum total of the war services of these workers by reducing turnover, sickness, and accidents. But in any case, there can be no withdrawing from the position that the country cannot afford to waste its youth manpower. That is not expendable. Moreover, at any moment may come the beginning of the transition from war to peace. Anything that can be done to uphold the health and educational progress of our young people while we are still geared to war makes the going that much less difficult when the conversion to peace must be made—when, suddenly or gradually, the demand for the services of these comparatively untrained and inexperienced young workers will slacken and when at the same time there will be a new body of children coming out of school and looking for jobs.

But this incidental help is not enough preparation for the time when the demobilization of the Armed Forces will, in turn, mean demobilization from industry for many young workers. There must be positive planning both nationally and locally to meet the new problems that will arise in the reconversion period.

To further such positive planning, an Executive Committee of the Children's Bureau's General Advisory Committee on Protection of Young Workers was appointed, with the idea that such a committee will be able to meet more often than the whole group and with needs for immediate postwar planning in mind. This Executive Committee met on June 15, 1944, with several consultants from the education fields, and reported recommendations to the Committee on Plans for Children and Youth, organized under the Children's Bureau

Commission on Children in Wartime (now the National Commission on Children in Wartime), which met on June 23.

From these conferences and from consultation between the Children's Bureau staff with many agencies and groups, public and private, have emerged the following concrete proposals:

1. *A Go-To-School Drive in the fall of 1944 to enroll and keep the nation's boys and girls of high-school age in school, either full-time or in a well-planned school-and-work program, until they complete their courses.* It is based on the belief that the possibility of a lasting peace for a nation depends upon the intelligent and educated minds of its citizens, that the youth of today must equip itself to understand the great problems ahead and know how to deal with them, and that the schools are the best training grounds we have for our young citizens. Plans for such a drive were made jointly with the U.S. Office of Education and were indorsed by the War Manpower Commission and supported by the Office of War Information.
2. *A drive in 1945 legislatures for advances in child labor legislation to take effect at the end of the war, concentrating on a minimum age of sixteen for all employment during school hours and for employment at any time in manufacturing and mechanical establishments.* Such a measure, since it will not go into effect until the end of the war, will have the advantage that it does not in any way restrict war production, while at the same time, by delaying the movement of children into jobs, it will aid in relieving unemployment during the transition from war to peace. It will offer to children under sixteen opportunity for the education and normal growth that they need as citizens in the postwar world. This advance, if made by all the states, would bring legislation for children in intra-state industry in line with the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and would thus not only give further protection to children but would lessen the administrative problems caused by differences between state and federal standards. Likewise, we should look to a strengthening of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, particularly the widening of its agricultural

coverage, so that it will give to children in agriculture protection comparable to that given to children in manufacturing establishments.

3. *Measures to salvage during the reconversion period the lost education of those young persons who interrupted their normal schooling to go to work.* This will require exploration nationally and locally of methods to give young persons who will be unemployed during this period educational opportunities appropriate to their special needs and also to provide some type of student aid that will enable former workers who would not otherwise be able to continue their education to do so. Student aid has already been provided by congressional action for young demobilized war veterans; it should also be done for young demobilized war workers. Specifically, one proposal that would help a small segment of this group deals with unemployment compensation. Under present administrative practices it is usual for young people attending school during any extended period to be disqualified for benefits, since as students they are not considered as available for employment. It has been advocated that educational allowances be made payable under unemployment compensation laws to young workers returning to school who would be eligible to unemployment compensation if they were not in school, in the same amounts and for the same time as the unemployment compensation benefits would be payable. This would encourage school attendance by removing financial incentives to idleness.
4. *To supplement the stop-gap provisions outlined above, broad student-aid programs of some type that will make possible raising the educational level of all American youth.* There must be a nation-wide attempt to solve the problems involved in making free education actually available to all children and young persons. This must include attention to such matters as provision of free textbooks, abolition of laboratory and athletic fees, free school lunches, and other services that facilitate school attendance for children in low-income groups, and financial assistance when needed. Much of what can be done in this broad field depends upon whether the long-hoped-for federal aid to education, advocated by so many agencies, including the National Resources Planning Board, as the

foundation stone for leveling otherwise insurmountable inequalities between state resources, is achieved.

Especially now that the war against Germany seems to have entered the final stage, the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau is also making definite plans for the changes in program that will equip it to function effectively in the reconstruction and postwar periods, just as at the beginning of the war it readjusted its activities to meet pressing war problems. One of the most essential changes must be a re-emphasis on basic research as to child labor conditions, particularly with reference to the new economic and social developments that the war has brought. As in dealing with any other social problem, careful study of existing facts and their causes and appraisal of the effectiveness of attempted remedial measures are essential to success. Concentration during the war on immediate problems, to the neglect of basic investigation, makes this resumption of the Bureau's fundamental fact-finding responsibility all the more important and immediate.

In the Children's Bureau's hazardous occupations program there should be a rapid development of hazardous occupations orders. Some of the advisory standards, as, for example, the one on shipbuilding, might lead directly into mandatory orders. There are certain fields that should be given priority as the basis for mandatory orders, for instance, pulpwood logging and metal mining, which should be studied as soon as possible after cessation of hostilities. Some of the other new industries, such as synthetic rubber, should also be studied.

Some of the good features of the advisory standards program should be

kept, if possible, as, for instance, the classification of certain jobs as being suitable for minors, as well as the expansion of hazardous occupations orders. This might be done either by continuing advisory standards after the war or by integrating the suggestions on suitable jobs into some kind of service to employers.

In connection with the Bureau's consideration of part-time school and work standards it is highly desirable also to study and evaluate the experiences of the war in school and work programs. We need, for instance, to know the good and bad of such programs and to determine whether work experience can be made available to children in such a way as really to enrich their education without undermining their health or their formal schooling and without tending to undercut the economic structure in the community.

The program for good standards for employment of nonfarm children and youth in agriculture is a long step forward in showing the power of co-operative effort in obtaining desirable standards for child labor in an area little touched by legal regulation. Encouraging as is this progress in standards for emergency employment of nonfarm children in agriculture, it must not be forgotten that the old type of unregulated child labor still exists among family migrants moving from crop to crop and from camp to camp, where there are still thousands of young children working day after day in the fields, and among many other classes of farm workers. As peace comes, the Bureau should be equipped to extend its activities and programs to meet the special needs of migratory child workers and promote measures for their health, education,

and welfare. As the farm manpower shortage changes to farm manpower surplus, it should place increasing emphasis on legal minimum-age and maximum-hours standards for children in agriculture and on ways and means of getting rural underaged and underprivileged children out of detrimental types of farm work and giving them the equality of opportunity with other children in a democracy to which they are entitled.

The Children's Bureau has a responsibility for leadership in developing and promoting these and many other necessary measures to help young workers through the demobilization period and to prepare them to take their most effective part in building up the structure of the nation's peace. But this responsibility can be fulfilled only to the extent that staff and resources are available. Successive curtailments of appropriations since 1940, amounting to 28 per cent, have necessitated serious retrenchments in the work that the Industrial Division should be doing for the young people of this country. As a result, it has been necessary, for instance, practically to eliminate Children's Bureau inspections under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and seriously to curtail advisory services and other aid in the development of the state certification programs that are necessary to prevent violations of the child labor provisions of that act. The Bureau frequently has been unable to give as detailed consultative services on child labor problems as was requested, and basic research on child labor conditions has been impossible. Failure to extend protection to young workers in many dangerous areas of employment, either through advisory standards or

through hazardous occupations orders under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and inability to keep up to date the basic research of the Division in the legal field, have been other results of lack of funds and staff.

Moreover, regardless of resources, the Bureau's work for the development of an adequate postwar program for working youth can be effective only if what is done in the Washington office can be projected throughout the country. These young people must be aided in the communities in which they work, and the community itself must plan and put into effect the remedial measures suited to its young people. So far as its limited resources have permitted, the Industrial Division of the Bureau has begun to promote organization of national, state, and local planning on the postwar problems of employment of young persons. But its combined office and field staff is too small to do more than a very small fraction of what should be done. To stimulate state and community appraisals of conditions and needs, to assist in the organization and co-ordination of available resources to serve these needs, to give advisory and consultative service in the initiation and development of state and community programs for adjustment of teen-age youth to the changing employment conditions of the war period, the transition from war to peace, and the postwar period—all these require a much larger staff than is now available. Yet these are responsibilities that the Children's Bureau can and should undertake and for which its years of experience and co-operation with public and private agencies have fitted it.

U. S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE MILITARY SOCIAL WORKER

BERTRAM M. BECK

I

SEVERAL months ago the army gave official recognition to the potential value of the trained psychiatric social workers in the Armed Forces by setting up job specifications and assigning a specification number for this job. The significance of this development will be realized when one considers that there are many thousand major job listings in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* of the United States Employment Service. Of these the army has selected only a few as having some value in the armed services, either by direct or indirect use of the skills represented by the job title. The social worker is now listed among these selected occupations.

The military psychiatric social worker has the job title of "military psychiatric social worker," and many of the workers now employed in the service are employed in out-patient psychiatric clinics known as "mental hygiene units" or "personnel consultation services." The military mission of such clinics is the study, diagnosis, treatment, and disposition of soldiers presenting problems of emotional maladjustment. The social worker in such a clinic has a role in all these areas.

The experience upon which this paper is based is that of the Mental Hygiene Unit at Drew Field, Florida, an army air base which trains bombardment units and Signal Corps forces. The Unit is headed by a psychiatrist who holds the rank of captain. The military professional staff is composed of ten case workers, two of whom have their Masters' degrees

from accredited schools and all of whom have some social work training and experience. There are four psychologists, two of whom have Ph.D. degrees and two of whom have a Master's degree. One psychologist, with clinical experience, does the job of a case worker. In addition, two psychiatric case workers are furnished by the American Red Cross. The Unit has been functioning for sixteen months. The cases studied have been referred largely by line and medical officers.

In order to appreciate the problems presented in military case work, it is necessary to see it in relation to the entire military picture. The mission of the Armed Forces is to annihilate the enemy, occupy his territory, and hence win the war. Any portion of the military must adjust itself to the attainment of this end. Thus, the primary problem of the military clinic is: Can this man be of some value to the army? If of limited or no value, what can be done within the army framework to make him of greater or even some value? The first question is one of diagnosis; the second is one of therapy.

An early area in the case process in which the social worker has much to offer is that of study for diagnosis and evaluation. A primary consideration in work of this sort is to offer to the military authorities a diagnosis and prognosis of the man's condition within a short time after referral. This is a military imperative. Because of this, a complete history is taken on every case in order to determine the diagnosis, the duration of the

illness, the psychodynamics involved, the dynamics of the patient's present problem, and the prognosis.

While the patient is the chief source of information, several collateral sources are utilized. Most important of these is the Red Cross psychiatric social history, which is secured by the Red Cross chapter in the patient's home community on almost every case. Where the patient or his family has had contact in civilian life with social agencies, a history of their contact is requested. The family physician and, where indicated, civilian hospitals are also contacted. Legal authorities are asked for records of arrests and convictions. Important army records are inspected; and, where the patient has been hospitalized since being in the army, clinical abstracts of such hospitalization are requested. The patient's commanding officer is requested to submit an evaluation of him, and often the commanding officer or other military authorities are interviewed.

Case workers are encouraged to utilize fully the therapeutic values of the history-taking process, which are accentuated in the army. It has long been known to social workers and allied professions that there are certain cathartic and insight-giving values for the patient in this process. In the military situation these values are enhanced by the fact that the patient has usually received little acceptance and much rejection from persons superior in rank, who did not understand the neurotic basis of his behavior. In the Mental Hygiene Unit he not only finds a sympathetic, objective listener but also finds it possible to vent his aggression to an authoritative agency without fear of punishment.

When the social history has been obtained, the case worker usually refers

the patient to the psychology department for such tests as seem indicated.¹ The results of such tests are then entered on the case record, to be incorporated in the case material.

Upon completion of the case study, the case is presented to the psychiatrist, who makes the diagnosis and in conferences with the social worker decides the disposition. In cases where it appears that the man cannot be utilized by the army under any circumstances, discharge is recommended.

The army provides for two types of discharge for psychiatric reasons. The first is the regular medical discharge, which is given to men who present symptoms readily diagnosable as a clinical entity of one of the types of psychoneurosis or psychosis. The other is for men presenting adjustment problems which, although they may have their genesis in a character neurosis, are primarily distinguishable by some form of social aggression.

Since discharge granted of the latter type may carry some stigma with it, it can be given only after procedure during which the patient is given an opportunity to defend himself against the discharge. For this reason, cases in which discharge of this type is indicated must be prepared by the case worker to include irrefutable and objective evidence supporting the reason why discharge is to be recommended.

In cases where the discharge is to be a regular medical discharge, the patient must first be hospitalized and then appear before a medical board qualified to recommend a discharge. In such cases the

¹ The Rorschach Ink Blot Test, Thematic Apperception Test, and army adaptation of the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale of Mental Ability are the tests most frequently used at this Unit.

Unit makes its study and findings available to the Neuropsychiatric Service of the hospital.

In all cases where a patient is discharged, the case worker's responsibility extends into the field of postdischarge planning. After the patient has been certified for discharge, he is seen at the Unit by his case worker; and an attempt is made to orient him emotionally toward his new life-role. Some interpretation as to why he is being discharged is offered to him, with reassurance to soften the feeling of failure that is so often present. The question of further psychiatric treatment in civilian life is discussed if indicated; and where the prognosis for such treatment is favorable, the patient is prepared for it. When the case worker has done the most he can in the time available, the patient is introduced to the Unit Red Cross worker, who takes care of the more functional aspects of post-discharge planning, such as pension rights, insurance conversion, employment, how to go about seeking psychiatric treatment, community resources for the veteran, and job placement.

The bulk of the patients seen at the Mental Hygiene Unit, however, are not discharged. A certain number of these are returned to duty with no further contact with the case worker beyond the study period and a final interview. Such cases include men who are originally referred for somatic complaints for which no physical basis has been found and where the psychiatric findings are also negative. This category is extremely small. A greater category is that of men who have genuine psychiatric disabilities which cannot be treated in the military situation but which are not disabling enough to necessitate discharge or any other action.

Return to duty in most cases, however, is accompanied by some therapeutic device, either environmental manipulation or case-work therapy. Such therapeutic programs must be held strictly within the limits of what is feasible within the army framework. The phrase "within the army framework" connotes the structural limitations of military case work. Foremost among these is the high mobility of the men in the service. A man may be stationed at a given post from one day to several years, depending upon military necessity. The point is that nobody is ever quite sure how long he will be in one place. Thus, any therapeutic program of long duration is out of the question, since either worker or patient or both may be moved to another base at any time. For the same reason, any therapy which necessitates strong transference is out of the question. It is necessary to study, diagnose, and make recommendations on a case within two weeks. If therapy is recommended, it must be of such a nature that the man will be able to function to some extent should it be discontinued and that, if the contact should be abruptly terminated, the man would not be seriously impaired.

Environmental manipulation is severely limited in the rigid patterns of the military. A most frequently utilized manipulative device is the recommendation of a new job classification (the type of work a man does) for a patient or a change in job assignment (where the man performs his duties). The policy here is that reclassification or reassignment will not be recommended unless the analytical formulation indicates that the man's disturbance is such that one can anticipate an increase in his military efficiency in a different job setting.

A patient may be shielded from certain experiences, such as combat, by recommendations that he be disqualified for full combat duties or that he be excused from certain military duties. It is also possible to interpret to a commanding officer the personality of a patient and so effect changes in his treatment within the military unit. Where the home situation of the patient's family plays an important role in the case, it can be altered through the Red Cross. Beyond these few facilities, the case worker is called upon to exercise his imagination and ingenuity to the utmost to help the patient alter his environmental situation.

Despite handicaps, the military psychiatric social worker, when properly utilized, has proved himself to be of considerable value to military psychiatry.

II

The following summarized case record illustrates the scope of the social history, the dynamics of military maladjustment in an obsessive-compulsive person who made a relatively good adjustment in civilian life, and a combination of environmental manipulation and case-work therapy utilized to salvage the patient for valuable military service.²

The patient is referred to the Mental Hygiene Unit by a medical officer after having been returned from a port of embarkation with a diagnosis of psychoneurosis. At the intake interview he states that his problem is the occurrence of a variety of "nervous" symptoms—i.e., hand tremor, nail-biting, dizzy spells, backaches, headaches, insomnia, and an acute fear of going overseas.

The social study reveals that the parents are middle-aged and that there has

² Identifying data have been masked to conceal the identity of the patient.

been little parental friction in the home. The father has been in chronic ill health and is described as severe and punitive. The mother is favored, as "she always babied me."

The patient is the second youngest of four siblings in the following order: sister, brother, sister, patient, and sister. The youngest sister is twelve years younger than the patient, and the patient recalls severe punishment by the father for teasing the little sister. Asked if he teased her often, he says: "Yes, she was my father's favorite." The workers suggested that perhaps he felt put out because this late arrival took up so much of his father's time. The patient said: "I didn't after I got old enough to realize that she was the baby."

There is no significant medical history. The patient had nocturnal enuresis up until thirteen years of age. Enuresis was associated with anxiety dream of being chased.

The patient made a good school adjustment and graduated from high school at sixteen. He desired further schooling but could not afford it. "My mother was disappointed, but my father did not care."

After the patient left school, he entered the C.C.C. He served for ten months and had a very difficult time adjusting at first; but later, when stationed in his home town and utilized as a clerk-typist, he did very well. After honorable discharge he remained in the same job as a civilian employee of the War Department until inducted.

The patient had one friend for ten years; and when his family moved from the home town to a farm in the country, he was quite disturbed at losing his friend and was unable to make new friends. While in the C.C.C. the patient

spent most of his time with the girl he later married. He had his first heterosexual experience at sixteen and had infrequent sex experience before marriage. He masturbated from thirteen to sixteen, and there was considerable conflict aroused by stories he heard that masturbation would drive him crazy.

The patient married eight months prior to induction, after he had known his wife for a year. The couple eloped because the girl was not of the patient's religion; and his mother protested, although "father didn't care." Two of the patient's siblings were married outside the church; and the marriages have worked out successfully, although the mother has never approved of them. Since the marriage there has been considerable conflict over religious issues between the patient and his wife and a good deal of mutual aggressiveness between his wife and his mother. Since the patient has been separated from his wife by the military situation, she has written letters which have alternated between overt rejection and terms of endearment. Such letters describe the physical attractions of other men, who are always the opposite of the patient, and beseech him not to be "a sniveling baby." During the study process the patient felt that his adjustment to his wife was his prime problem and that his only solution was to go home and straighten things out.

The patient has a routine army record with no delinquencies. He had his basic training at a mid-western camp for three months. During this period his wife was with him, and his symptoms were at a minimum. His wife did not accompany him here, owing to the indefinite nature of the duration of his assignment. He has been here for five months. For

one month he was a clerk-typist; and for four months he was on general duty, doing various kinds of labor. He was sent to a port of embarkation as a general-duty man but was returned to this field with a diagnosis of psychoneurosis.

The patient associates his most positive feeling toward the army with the periods in which his wife was with him and he was working as a clerk-typist. He says that he has difficulty meeting new friends in the army and that, when he finds one, he sticks to him. He has changed living quarters many times since coming to this field, and each change is particularly disturbing to him.

In describing his present illness the patient states that he has been "nervous" all his life. This "nervousness" manifests itself by hand tremors, dizzy spells, black-outs, backaches, and nail-biting. These symptoms did not seriously incapacitate him, but he was always somewhat tense and anxious. His symptoms increased in the army, particularly after his wife left him, and were extremely aggravated when he was about to go overseas. At that time he was particularly bothered by insomnia and fretful sleep with dreams of combat with people chasing him. His heart beat rapidly and pained him. He was hospitalized and then returned to the base.

The psychiatric social worker's impression is that this patient is a physically underdeveloped boy with considerable anxiety. He relates his problems easily, and there is no tendency to focalize on conversion symptoms. There is no confusion, and the patient is well oriented in all spheres. There is no evidence of illusions, paresthesias, or hallucinations.

The soldier has average intelligence and average knowledge. His insight is

limited, and his judgment is extremely impaired by the obsessional thought content. He bites his nails continuously and cries easily, particularly when going overseas is discussed.

The psychiatric case worker stated that, when the patient was first seen, he saw the solution to his problem as being reclassified and getting a furlough to go home, but at the same time he doubted the advisability of staying in the army. Such indecision was characteristic of any problem discussed. He was particularly concerned about the impossibility of establishing a permanent life-pattern in the army and said that "being pushed around" by the army made him "hate it so." Inquiry revealed that in civilian life he had followed a regular daily routine, even to the manner of hanging his clothes at night. He is disturbed whenever this routine is altered.

When the case was presented to the psychiatrist, he made a diagnosis of severe obsessive-compulsive neurosis and recommended disqualification for overseas duty and reclassification to clerk-typist. It was felt that as a clerk-typist in a permanent organization he might be able to make enough of an adjustment to be of value to the service.

Before the plan was explained to the patient, further efforts were made to encourage him to express some opinion with regard to his future, but this only resulted in arousing anxiety; and it was the worker who "sold" him the idea of attempting an adjustment under these conditions. (The concept of choice and will utilized in civilian practice has only limited application in the military setting, for both the patient and the worker know that in the last analysis the army will decide on the disposition of the individual.)

About a week after the final interview, the soldier met the worker on the post and told him that he was working as a clerk-typist in a permanent outfit and expressed much satisfaction with his situation. About a month later the patient telephoned the worker to say that he was going home on furlough and had decided either to resolve his conflict with his wife and bring her down to live with him or to divorce her. He stated that he felt good and was still enjoying his work.

Three months later the patient called to say that he was having "nervous spells" and would like an appointment. He came to the office for an appointment and presented his problem as to the recurrence of periods of anxiety and guilt at not being sent overseas and a fear of being sent overseas. The soldier was doing well on his job; he had worked his problems out with his wife, and she was living happily off the post with him. There was, however, one condition at home that was upsetting him: his father was ill and was not expected to live.

The prospect of going overseas was discussed, and the patient stated that there were rumors that all disqualified men were being qualified and sent overseas. The worker depreciated the rumors and satisfied him that there was nothing official to this effect. The patient then expressed guilt over not going overseas, saying that he felt this way because of what other people were thinking about him. He said: "I wonder if other people look down on me." The worker asked: "Do you think you'd wonder if you didn't look down on yourself?" He admitted that this was so. The worker spoke of the limitations of all persons and then of the patient's limitations. He talked of the necessity of living within one's limitations and pointed out the

valuable job that the patient was doing and how it all contributed to the war effort. The patient looked a little brighter. The worker said that such feelings were natural and that the patient's recent symptoms had probably been brought about by the rumor of overseas service, which was a threat to the ordered life we had decided in previous contacts was necessary for him.

The patient agreed and said he was also disturbed by his father's condition. "That's another thing," the patient said. "What's that?" asked the worker. The patient said: "You can never tell when you are going to die." He then went on to describe his father's condition. His father has some cardiac involvement and refuses to live within the limitations set by the physician. His conscience won't let him stop working. "I'm like my father," the patient said. "Yes, your father has a strong drive for achievement and refuses to realize his limitations," the worker responded. "And see what's happening to him!" said the patient. "And that's just what you're afraid of, aren't you?" the worker asked. Here the patient spoke for some time about his fear of death in combat, much as he had spoken during the history-taking. As he spoke, considerable anxiety was evidenced. When he had "talked himself out," the worker reviewed the interview with him. He had come in because of periods of anxiety. Symptoms had been reactivated by a threat of going overseas, which awakened a conflict in the patient. A sense of inadequacy at not being overseas and a desire to go conflicted with his fear of the combat situation. This conflict was heightened by his father's situation. There was further talk on limitations, and this gave him considerable support. The patient said that he felt

much better and would never be able to thank the Unit enough. The worker told him to telephone in two weeks and let the worker know how he felt. Two weeks later he telephoned and said the anxiety spells had disappeared.

In the case cited the psychodynamics of the individual's difficulty are fairly apparent. We are dealing here with a person with a good deal of free-floating anxiety, which manifests itself in a variety of worries over all the details of living. In civilian life the patient has made a fairly good adjustment by avoiding any new situation which might require decisions and so awaken his fears. This compulsiveness is shown by the tendency to hold on to jobs and friends with anxiety engendered when external factors force a change in life-situation. The basic structure of the patient's neurosis is hinted at when he describes his father's attitude toward him and his feelings of rivalry toward his baby sister.

When evaluating this man with a view to therapy, it was felt that his insight was too limited to make the prognosis for brief therapy in the military setting favorable. The question was: How can we aid this man in creating a situation in which he can once more employ the compulsive mechanisms which enabled him to function in civilian life? This is accomplished by disqualifying him for overseas, which affords him a relatively permanent place, doing a job with which he is familiar. As his compulsive needs are met, his obsessions diminish, and it will be noted that he is able to decide what to do about his wife and to function on a job quite effectively. With a man as disturbed as this, however, it may be expected that he will, in the course of time, be confronted with situations which will be difficult for him to handle. For this

reason the worker makes it clear that he is free to make an appointment at any time he feels the need to do so. The patient apparently derives some degree of support from this, since he continues to call and visit from time to time. In the case-work process the worker makes no attempt to go into the basic conflicts but centers his attention on the adjustment of the patient to his personality structure. In dealing with the relationship of the father's illness to the patient's recurrence of symptoms, the worker goes no further than patient appears to be able to go without distress. Such techniques as catharsis, reassurance, and ego support are freely used.

Case-work therapy has come into increasingly greater use at the Mental

Hygiene Unit as the manpower shortage has made it mandatory that every soldier who can do a reasonable day's work be retained in the service. The case worker's knowledge of human behavior, plus his skill in environmental manipulation, makes his service very valuable for this work. Of course, the same problem of resistances and interpretation occur in the military setting with the same or even greater frequency than they occur in a civilian setting. It is felt, however, that the pragmatic value of this type of work is being demonstrated; and more and more military personnel are coming to be convinced of its value and the necessity for its continuance.

MENTAL HYGIENE UNIT
DREW FIELD, FLORIDA

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COMMON HUMAN NEEDS IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

PUBLIC programs are administered by humans for humans, and therefore, among other orientations, some understanding of common human needs and some understanding of basic principles of human behavior are essential. Not merely what are we doing *for* people but what are we doing *to* them is a question which should be uppermost in the minds of those responsible for public assistance services. We, from executive to case worker, are administering programs in which many of the statutory provisions have been inherited from the past and in which agency policies are colored by outmoded conceptions of what is good for individuals and for society. Since some of our statutory provisions have not kept pace with social change or with current understanding of human nature, we have struggled to administer the misconceptions of the past in as corrective a way as possible until such time as we can effect basic change. There are definite limits beyond which we cannot go in rectifying the effects of unsound legal provisions and restrictive policies, but perhaps some understanding of their import for people may be helpful to staffs in several ways: (1) If it gives greater significance to the relationship between public assistance programs and the growth of the individual, it may help workers use the agency more positively, more flexibly, and more resourcefully

from the initial service of helping the client establish eligibility throughout the other case-work services indicated in individual instances. (2) In so far as it contributes to an understanding of some of the basic needs and problems that grow out of human relationships and to an appreciation of the various but appropriate ways in which different people meet and deal with the same circumstances, it should help the worker to individualize in some measure the process of establishing eligibility and to differentiate need for other services. A worker with this understanding should be less inclined to impose services and to interfere with the recipient's right than one who has little comprehension of the meaning of the individual's response or of the significance of what he says when he applies for assistance. (3) Furthermore, if this content of knowledge deepens the worker's understanding of human motives and of principles of personality growth, it may contribute to her awareness of the import of her own response to the impact of work which at times makes heavy demands.

Consider first in a general way the basic needs of the individual. Obviously the conditions of life which make for maximum physical health are important from the standpoint of creating a citizenry physically resourceful and efficient in contributing to the nation's wealth in time of peace and to its security in time of war. We value these conditions for something more than man's physical survival, however, and it is important that case workers comprehend the significance of adequate nutrition and physi-

¹ Paper read at Conference on State Methods for Improving Local Public Welfare Services, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, July, 1944. Full discussion of this subject is soon to be published by the Technical Training Service, Division of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

cal health from the standpoint of personality development. The relationship between the nutrition of infants and their emotional growth is well established. The infant gets a sense of well-being that is an equivalent to a sense of being loved in so far as he is comfortable, which implies being well fed. The malnourished infant experiences a deep affectional starvation. Frustrated, restless, irritable, hyperactive, he begins to relate himself to the world in hostile, aggressive, demanding ways, which may become well entrenched. To the average citizen it may seem a far cry from the malnourished infant of today to the dictator or unsocialized citizen of tomorrow. Likewise, illness or physical handicap may become factors in the formation of personality. Quite frequently in delinquent children one finds physical inadequacy, a physical defect, or a crippling handicap as part of the basis for the child's feeling of bitterness, hatred toward others, and his impulse to compensate and retaliate either through antisocial aggressions or through demanding dependency. Just as the passing mood of any one of us may be created by a state of hunger, physical fatigue, or our general health conditions, persistent hunger, fatigue, and bodily suffering may shape the personality to its own ends. It has been said: "Man cannot reason with his ills for they know more than he does." The most basic impulse in an organism is the impulse to survive. The need to feel secure, that is, safe, as an assurance of survival is fundamental. Fear emerges quickly when survival is threatened, and persistent survival fears lead inevitably to aggressions and to deep regressions into dependency. The human adult is biologically independent, equipped for survival without external help. This physical self-dependence is important in giving the adult greater security than the

child. A significant element in the social situation in which workers encounter and help people, however, is the fact that man does not have full use of this biological capacity for survival. He may be able to survive alone on an island abounding in natural resources, but he has much less chance for survival alone in modern society, for the goods which surround him are not his for the taking. Therefore, unless broad social security provisions are made available as his inalienable survival right, he is doomed to continue in the psychological state of childhood, anxiously dependent on others, insecure, and unfree to move courageously into full assumption of adult responsibilities. There is no better base than this for the continuance of self-aggrandizing strivings and for the persistence of irrational behavior.

The significance of those conditions of life that assure the individual not merely survival but also a state of physical well-being are obvious to us here today. And yet one finds that many untrained workers miss the deeper import of their work. Because many people have a certain toughness, an amazing resilience, and a tenacious capacity for survival, the worker may be blinded to the destructive effects of meager and restrictive provisions. When she sees their full import, her way of serving an applicant may undergo marked change. (1) She will have a deep conviction as to his right and accordingly will bring a positive attitude to the task of helping him establish his eligibility. We are all familiar with the worker who is out to prove the applicant ineligible, and we know the differences in approach in the worker who respects the individual's right and in the one who does not, differences in the way of conducting the inquiry and of giving instruction even though the same process is insti-

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tuted by both. We know the differences, too, *for the applicant*; the one worker creates anxiety and tension where the other eases it; the one humiliates where the other dignifies; the one instills fear as to continuing status where the other proffers security. We know that, as workers extend additional case-work services to the applicant, one may be reacted to as proffering humiliation or an infringement of right, whereas another is responded to as offering help as an integral part of his right. (2) The worker who sees the significance of her work in relation to man's interrelated psychological and physical needs will have strong convictions about the importance of adequate financial assistance, and she will bend every effort to use the agencies' resources to the utmost rather than fearfully strive to protect its funds. She will see herself as protecting the taxpayer when she puts human welfare first. (This will occur in those agencies wherein inadequate budgeting has stemmed from the worker's anxiety over public funds rather than from the administrator's.) (3) The worker will begin to use more extensively and resourcefully community resources for prenatal care, infant welfare services, health and medical care, and the nutrition services of the agency or community. (4) She will come to appreciate the limits of case-work efforts and to lend support to measures for more adequate housing, stable and enduring provisions for employment, and minimum economic security.

Another essential need which must be met if the individual is to be less driven by irrational emotional forces is the opportunity for the development of his intellectual capacities to their maximum. Untrained workers frequently have not realized the many implications both for the individual and for society when edu-

cational opportunities are not commensurate with an individual's abilities. First, there is the loss to society of the richer contribution which might have been made; second, the loss to the individual of a more satisfying and productive life-work; third, the deep frustration which may be experienced when aspirations cannot be attained—a defeat which may lead to embittered rage or to discouraged inertia. Thwarted mental powers seek destructive outlets. Deep personality disturbance and regressive behavior trends of many sorts have been engendered when the mind has been obstructed in attaining its full growth. In America the need for educational opportunity has been entertained more sympathetically than many other common needs. In a democracy there has been a respect for learning as a way to rise from poverty and ignorance to wealth and eminence to which the great majority is unquestionably entitled. Theoretically, then, the American has met less frustration in the development of his mental abilities than the peoples of many other nations. Public-school facilities from kindergarten to universities have been there for the individual to use. This is a great social resource for the development of human personality to constructive ends, and one which should be safeguarded with resources that assure maximum productive use of our educational systems, of which, despite certain defects, we can well be proud. This implies provisions in the community that make it possible for every individual to secure the education essential for the full realization of his powers under conditions conducive to productive learning. This involves such measures as adequate enforcement of child labor laws, removal of restrictions against minority groups, and at least minimum economic security.

It is incongruous with the American tradition that the economic status of the parents rather than the intelligence of the child should set a ceiling on his educational opportunities. It may be argued that this need not occur in the light of our extensive facilities. Economic factors, however, do operate both against maintenance of schools, against actual attendance at school, and against the productive use of the educational opportunity during attendance. That the child who is ill fed, ill housed, ill clothed, and physically below par may not be in a receptive mental state is an idea to which the American public warms slowly. Perhaps it is in the American tradition to believe that poverty and hardship not only need not be deterrents to progress but instead may well stimulate endeavor. Perhaps it is in our tradition to give freely and without fear those provisions that seem directly to contribute to man's capacity for achievement. We give hesitantly and grudgingly, that is, fearfully, those nurturing services which would seem to foster dependence. We fail to comprehend the interrelatedness of man's needs and the fact that frequently basic dependency needs must be met *first* in order that he may use opportunities for independence. Accordingly, funds are appropriated for school lunches and school clinics less willingly than for school books.

As public assistance staffs gain conviction about the importance of educational opportunity in the development of the total personality, they will bend every effort to safeguard it through using the agency's resources to the utmost in seeing that children have every possible provision to enable them not only to continue in school but to make productive use of schooling. This implies budgeting to the maximum, so that they may

go to school adequately fed and decently clad. It implies also prompt use of health and nutrition services and of scholarship opportunities. It may imply also in the case of some adolescents wise counseling on part-time work in relation to educational goals and supportive judgments in relation to violations of child labor laws. There has been considerable discussion and some controversial thinking in regional conferences as to what attitude workers should take with reference to higher education for young people in public assistance families. Should they be encouraged or discouraged in *hoping for* and *in planning* to continue in school as a basis for college. Since when has it not been every American's privilege to hope and to plan beyond the limits of his life-situation? This may have been one of our weaknesses, but let us not forget that it also has been our great strength. The significant question here is: Why should public assistance children be set apart on the basis of economic factors? In a democracy should not mental capacity rather than economic status be the basis for individual counseling?

In the human personality there is a natural and inevitable impulse toward growth away from the original state of dependence to a state of greater self-sufficiency and independence. It is generally agreed that the human personality matures through relationship with others and that the nature of his experience constitutes a decisive factor in his development. It is commonly agreed also that family relationships are of primary importance in that they tend to set the pattern for his choice of, and response to, relationships in other groups. We are concerned, therefore, that our assistance programs safeguard family life. It is essential that we have knowledge of normal relationship needs at different age

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levels and that we learn some of the ways in which those needs may be affected by circumstance, that is, by the individual's prior life-experience and the timing of social problems in relation to other events. The interplay within a family normally is complex, for within this group, as elsewhere, each individual is struggling for survival. It has been said that

there are many kinds of personal relations which exist in an everyday happy family who are merely going on living their daily lives with no crises or shocks or bewildering complications to try them. Yet every individual in the household is clinging passionately to his individual soul, is in terror of losing it in the general family flavor. . . . One realizes that even in harmonious families there is this double life: the group life which is the one we can observe in our neighbor's household, and, underneath another, secret and passionate and intense, which is the real life that stamps the faces and gives character to the voices of our friends. Always in his mind each member of these social units is escaping, running away, trying to break the net which circumstance and his own affections have woven about him. One realizes that human relationships are the tragic necessity of human life; that they never can be wholly satisfactory. Every ego is half the time greedily seeking them, and half the time pulling away from them. In those simple relationships of loving husband and wife, affectionate sisters, children and grandmother, there are innumerable shades of sweetness and anguish which make up the patterns of our lives day by day.²

In public assistance programs we deal with families at times when bewildering complications try them, families who frequently have known repeated crises as a result of which this normal struggle can well be heightened. The conflicts are essentially the same, only perhaps more intense with a great deal emotionally at stake in decisions which involve dependency or separation. It is important,

therefore, that we understand something of the individual as an individual, his need for identity within the family, as well as perceive what he means to others and the significance of the family for him. This orientation would affect our work in various ways. It would lead us to question many of our legal provisions and to bend every effort either toward their modification or toward the formulation of policies which in greater measure express their human welfare intent.

When a worker knows the relationship needs of the infant and young child as well as the various meanings which motherhood may have for the individual, she may be more helpful to the woman who turns to her for advice as she struggles with the question of whether or not she should work.

When her knowledge enables her to see realistically the relationship needs of the adolescent and in this connection the meaning of earnings, of work, and of play to him; when she understands the purposes served by the persistence of childish impulses as well as the purposes served by his uncertain and sometimes distorted adult strivings, she may bring to parents who seek her help or to the adolescent himself sound counsel, based on recognition of his dual needs for the support of authority and moral judgment and for freedom to be in some measure self-determining.

When the worker recognizes the importance of learning the place which the father in an A.D.C. family formerly held, she will appreciate the change which in many instances has been imposed upon him through illness and unemployment. She will see the import of agency practice for him when the mother now not only receives the money from someone else but controls it herself and turns to the A.D.C. worker as someone who can bet-

² Willa Cather's comments on the writings of Katherine Mansfield in *Not under Forty* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936).

ter share her parental responsibilities than the now useless father. Seeing this, she currently may handle her relationship to the family quite differently than otherwise. For future reference, agency administrative staff may use many such cases as a basis for objective questioning not only of case-work practices but also of any existent statutory provisions or policies which rigidly define one parent as against the other to be the signer and recipient of the grant.

When agency staffs are cognizant of the individual's natural impulse to grow—that is, to move into new experience, to give himself in creative activity, to spend his energy in contributing to the life of the group, and to give himself in relationships that contribute to and gratify others as well as serve the purpose of self-gratification—they lose some of their traditional fears about their services. A common attitude brought to this work by untrained personnel—one which reflects lay attitudes in general—is to the effect that if the individual's dependency needs are met, he will tend to be pauperized; therefore one must give meagerly and make the taking experience an uncomfortable one. Also that man does not want to work. He works only through force of circumstance, and, if assistance were adequate, he would be loathe to work again. In so far as this is true of people encountered in public assistance programs, it is a commentary on the deprivation, humiliation, and frustration of their lives which have made for an inability to strive and to look beyond the goal of mere survival. In general, man strives for a feeling of safety, and, in so far as his life-experience has permitted growth toward maturity, his greatest security derives from self-sufficiency and his highest gratifications derive from living beyond the mere struggle for ex-

istence. Accordingly, he is deeply frustrated where he cannot work and earn something more than bread alone; he is thwarted when he has no place as a participating member in the creative activity of the community. When we realize this, we give not merely less fearfully but confidently and in ways which make the individual comfortable rather than uncomfortable, in the knowledge that his growth impulses will remain intact in so far as his security and self-respect are not undermined. We know that his impulses to give beyond himself will stem from gratification in relationships rather than from deprivation.

A worker who knows the relationship needs of the aged will see that the future is uncertain, even frightening, that the present has many frustrations, through loss of family members and friends, through loss of place in the workaday world, through changed status within the family. She will know that regressions to the past at this age period are normal and an absence of them, unusual. The behavior adaptation known as regression which operates throughout life is frequently crystal clear in old age. It is important that workers have knowledge of this behavior mechanism and be able to identify regressive behavior. They need to understand that, as the individual gradually proceeds from the complete dependency of infancy and early childhood, his progress is smooth and uninterrupted by phases of regression in so far as the demands of the external world are appropriately timed to his physical and psychological capacity to master his environment. Since throughout the course of life the individual's experiences seldom are so timed, fragmentary regressions are usual. It is only natural when life becomes markedly difficult that there is a tendency to return to

earlier satisfactory life-periods. Since we deal with people in the midst of adverse circumstances, we encounter them at a time when regressive behavior occurs, but these reactions need not be permanent if the individual can be strengthened to meet the demands of life and if the excessive environmental frustrations can be eased. This is a decisive point for social workers—one which gives significance to much of our work. Obviously in work with the aged fixed physical, mental, and environmental factors limit the help which can be given, and we have to accept some childlike dependence as being normal and inevitable and give the supportive help which contributes to the individual's comfort. When we understand the needs of the aged and the behavior tendencies which are not peculiar to the aged but common to all humans, we see the destructive import for them of present rulings in many states as to responsibility of relatives for financial support. We know that this is a time of life when the individual needs more than ever before the security of harmonious relationships with his family members. Enforced support measures may make him a burden and an irritant to his frequently already disadvantaged family. Thus in so far as his family relationships become strained rather than strengthened, as they frequently do, he experiences deprivation and frustration in the present which drives him to the past, thereby stimulating and reinforcing regressive impulses. Furthermore, one of the conditions of old age which has brought more regression than would otherwise be necessary has been the humiliating reversal of roles which occurs when the person is forced from the position of parent to that of dependent child. It would seem that in America, where the dignity of man is presumably the

keystone of its democratic structure, every individual should be entitled to life-conditions that enable him to maintain what strength and dignity of his adult years remains to him in spite of or apart from the inroads that time may have made on his mental and physical capacities. Public assistance staffs with knowledge of common human needs and principles of human behavior, providing they are emotionally free to think objectively on this subject, will have deep conviction as to the destructive effects of our present legal provisions in this area and will bend every effort to change the laws. They will face the fact also that a needless burden is being placed on the worker's shoulders, not only in the area of investigation and persuasive and coercive efforts with relatives but also in the area of dealing with the relationship difficulties induced. As for case-work services to the aged, they will see that there are hurts and humiliations with resultant problems which are better avoided through legal change than through case-work ministrations, which, however discriminative and tender, cannot compensate for damages wrought by humiliating wrongs.

In relation to the whole question of responsibility of relatives as encountered in the various public assistance programs, the staff that brings an understanding of family life in terms of the individuals as well as of the group will repeatedly see the carry-over of family conflicts into attitudes toward financial support of members. Some experienced social workers would formulate their observations somewhat as follows:

1. In general, when the individual's separation from the family has been a normal growth process away from dependence which presupposes satisfying love relationships which now are recip-

roated, there is no problem of nonsupport except on a reality basis. In such relationships the impulse is to share and to contribute if it is humanly possible to do so. If not possible, the individuals concerned may state their inability to support without undue self-justification or anxiety over this inability.

2. Frequently when the individual is still tied into the family but has much resentment over those ties and a fear of loss of love and anxiety over guilt if he should not fulfil his obligation, the support problem may be one of the relative's being unrealistic about his ability to contribute. He may share his last crust and mortgage his own future because he is not emotionally free to say, "I am not able to contribute." To say this would be to express his feelings of rejection and thus risk loss of love relationships in which he still may have a certain childish dependence. Or sometimes in this instance his two-way feeling may find expression as follows: When he could contribute he may enact his resentment through refusal accompanied by many justifications. He may, through placing on others the responsibility of enforcement, make society force him to carry his unwelcome burden.

3. Involvement in the family through again becoming dependent or through contributing to their support constitutes a painful reopening of old wounds, or a threatening entanglement in an old frustrating net, when the individual's separation from the family has not been a normal emancipation process so much as a cutting-off or a breaking-away in order to survive. In such an instance the person may unrealistically refuse help or maintain his inability to help and in the latter build up a strong case for himself. Sometimes, in order to survive as a relatively free person with some chance for

growth, he cannot permit himself to become entangled in his past.

In summary, then, we might say that, where relationships are sufficiently good to make acceptance of support or contribution to the support of others a constructive experience, the individual will be inclined to assume this responsibility if finances permit or to enter freely into a dependency relationship if circumstances make it necessary. In situations where relationships have not been good the individual in the interests of survival may not be able to enter this relationship or assume this responsibility. Or he may feel driven to do it unrealistically and with destructive import for himself and others. Statutory provisions and administrative policies which express a respect for the right of the individual who is not applying for assistance, as well as for the one who is, would recognize the rationale of the person's own giving and taking impulses.

In presenting these insights into human behavior and the kind of understanding of common human needs, essential for the use of local agency staffs, it is realized that it is not a simple task for staff at the federal, regional, and state levels who have this orientation to convey it to untrained local staffs in ways that make it useful. In a school of social work we know all that is involved in the student's gradual assimilation and use of some of these ideas as conveyed to him through many course contents and through supervised field work.

From the long-view standpoint we can only continue our present efforts along four points:

1. Striving to bring about change in legal provisions. Formulating agency policies which make the most of statutory provisions, so that much is accom-

plished apart from case-work skills. We all know that under some present statutory provisions, and within restrictive policies which sometimes misinterpret the intent of the law, local agency staffs manned with a good proportion of skilled case workers have been hard put to it to meet common human needs in ways that contribute to the growth of the individual.

2. Striving to maintain personnel standards and to encourage professional education for local staffs so that again following the war emergency we may see an upward trend in the numbers of well-trained staff at the local level.

3. In the meantime trying to convey to local staffs some of this understanding. Some of it is readily grasped through the fact of common human experience. We must admit, however, that some of it may not be readily grasped but instead strongly repudiated for that very reason. Therefore, how much can be gained through this measure remains to be seen.

4. In schools of social work we, in educating students for leadership, should continue to develop in them a critical attitude and a point of view which looks to the future and thinks in terms of change with the conviction that institutions and laws are man made and subject to change by man. At the same time we hope to instil a readiness and an interest

in working as effectively as possible within the limits of existing structures and within the limits set in some instances by unenlightened leadership. There is inevitably some conflict here, particularly for young people, for whom some professional gratification today is a basic essential in the development of capacity to work for long-time gains. We will help them handle this conflict in so far as we are able to convey to them the historical import as well as the immediate vital significance of our programs for human welfare.

As we look to the future, there are two significant developments that spell hope for our country. First, the passage of the Social Security Act; second, the rapid advance during the last quarter-century in the scientific study of human personality which has resulted in a deeper understanding of human nature. In the extension, modification, and co-ordination of these two developments much is at stake. Those who participate in the administration of the Social Security Act through any one of its far-reaching programs have the challenging opportunity to integrate and to carry forward work of decisive import to democracy. We need to grasp and to convey to others the real significance of our work.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CASE-WORK SERVICES IN THE AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN PROGRAM: A STUDY IN COOK COUNTY

CAROL GOLDSTEIN

THE Aid to Dependent Children program is a children's program, but children are inarticulate, and it is easy to assume that all is well with them until suddenly they are in trouble. Many children in Cook County receiving this aid are also in need of case-work services and agency resources that are not available to them. The staff of the County Bureau of Public Welfare knows how great the need is, but the primary concern of the administration has been the determination of eligibility, while the conditions that create dependency and delinquency tend to be overlooked.

There seems to be a professional reluctance to depart from the familiar ways of traditional relief administration, though this may only be natural before undertaking another program that will require comparatively new and untried services. The mothers' pension system in Cook County added to the welfare of assisted families by introducing the standard budget, a modified means test, and the concept of a right to relief residing in eligibility. The standard of assistance has continued to improve under the A.D.C. program, but it is not enough to give children only material benefits. Services that will protect the right of children to normal and secure childhood should now be developed to supplement the financial aid.

A comprehensive service program had been indicated in an early state bulletin reminding the county departments that the state had assumed major responsibility for all case-work services to children

in the A.D.C. program,¹ but this emphasis was not sustained following the transfer of administrative responsibility from the Illinois Department of Public Welfare to the Illinois Public Aid Commission, which also administers old age pensions and blind assistance and allocates and supervises the expenditure of state relief funds.² During the first two years, from July, 1941, through June, 1943, the State Welfare Department had concentrated its time and attention upon defining assistance standards and eligibility requirements, and the program was ready for further development when the transfer was brought about by legislative action. In the past year and a half the new authority has obtained an increase in state A.D.C. funds, but a comparison of manual instructions under the two state departments seems to reveal that the I.P.A.C. interest in children is to be centered on their economic status, and the hoped-for service program in Cook County is again delayed.

The development of children's services is especially important because A.D.C. is the only community program devoted to the care of dependent children in their own homes and with their own families. It should offer to children the best there is in case-work practice. A.D.C. is administered through the county departments of public assistance

¹ Illinois Public Aid Commission, *Manual of Policy and Procedure*, Sec. X, chap. 6, "The Division of Child Welfare," p. 2.

² *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1943 (State Bar Association ed.), chap. 23, "Charities," sec. 340.1 ff.

in all Illinois counties except Cook, where the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare has statutory responsibility for the three assistance programs. The Bureau has been the agent of the county in welfare matters since 1925, when it was created to put relief and social service on a professional social work basis.³ No statutory limitations were imposed on the function of the Bureau, and a professional practice that could keep abreast of professional standards was encouraged. When the A.D.C. program was first established in Cook County, the Bureau was committed to a plan that called for a specialized service, with specialized case loads under workers whose professional qualifications included training and experience in the children's field. A selected staff was secured by civil service appointment, but administrative interest in the plan declined in favor of a system combining the care of the aged, children, and the blind in one general assistance scheme that could be more easily administered.⁴ In a general assistance program one tendency is to regard the determination of eligibility for public aid as the most important single function of the public assistance office. Individuals and families may be faced with many problems, but, unless these are related to need or capacity for self-maintenance, they are usually considered outside of agency function.⁵ However, the purpose of the A.D.C. program has not been to rehabilitate children or to urge their mothers to return to self-maintenance. In 1941 the director of the County

Bureau had outlined the objectives of the A.D.C. as "first, adequate relief and, second, the development of a selected, professionally trained, permanent staff, if assistance to these children whose dependence may continue for years, is to carry with it the kind of constructive service that will prevent dependency and delinquency, and insure children who will be independent in adult life because of a stable childhood homelife."⁶ Under these objectives A.D.C. has remained a special and separate service, although interest in the children's welfare had not regained its former vigor. The valid differences that distinguish the three fields of case work from each other have been impossible to disregard. The human needs they serve demand different case-work skills and specialization in practice, and only a most exceptional worker could apply the skills essential to expert practice in the care of children, dependent old people, and the blind.

The case-work service of the A.D.C. worker should be equal to any that can be offered. The basic skills of generic case work and the special skills of the family and the child welfare worker must be hers if children are to have the kind of service to which they are entitled. A number of the more qualified and experienced case workers have left, but the present visiting staff has worked constructively with the many serious problems of children and families. The minimum educational requirement for new workers is graduation from an approved college, with additional study in a recognized school of social work a requisite for professional advancement. An indoctrination course is offered to each new worker in the first week of her association with the agency, and this too

³ *Annual Message of the President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, 1928*, p. 40.

⁴ Clara Paul Paige, "Cook County Looks at Integrated vs. Unintegrated Case Loads," *Public Welfare*, II (June, 1944), 146-48.

⁵ Dorothy Bird Daly, *Case Work Practice in Public Assistance Administration* (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1942), p. 24.

⁶ *Annual Message of the President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, 1941*, p. 49.

brief period of orientation must serve because workers are urgently needed in the districts. The pressure of work has been so heavy that at times the staff has been discouraged. Because of inadequate funds, the Chicago Welfare Administration, which administers the poor law, gives supplementary assistance to approximately half of all A.D.C. families; and by agreement between agencies, the A.D.C. staff authorizes assistance in accordance with the policies and procedures of the municipal agency. This places a responsibility upon the staff that reduces the time the individual worker can devote to giving needed services.⁷ It has been found difficult to visit with sufficient frequency "to help recipients with economic and other problems, to determine eligibility and to offer constructive service" when the standard load is one hundred families per worker. The worker may visit only once every six months in A.D.C. families where circumstances are likely to remain unchanged,⁸ but it is required that the head of a supplemented family be interviewed in the home once every three months to establish his continued eligibility. This written interview is submitted to an auditor, who represents the municipal agency in each Bureau office, that he may correct and prevent any deviation from relief policies that are rigidly uniform, although it is expected that the worker's knowledge of the C.W.A. regulations and practices will keep at a minimum the number of such corrections that she must make. Two days of each week are given to field visits, while three are spent in the office in dictation and

"clerical duties." These duties are often concerned with budgetary revisions, or "reviews," although the resulting changes may not affect the amount of the grant. The supervisory workers shoulder a heavy responsibility for the operation of the case-work program and the visiting schedule. Each supervisor is responsible for the performance, the professional growth, and development of six case workers. She must assure a smooth and uninterrupted flow of financial aid and other social services to some six hundred families. While the correct interpretation of the policies, procedures, and practices of two agencies is but one of her duties, there has been some encouragement in the fact that since July, 1943, an increasing number of families have been able to manage without supplementation, and the pressure of work entailed by responsibility for the practices of two agencies has become less. Also, in October, 1944, the average case load had declined to eighty-seven families per worker and was expected to go still lower.

The test of A.D.C. is the benefited child. If the child is not being helped, ways must be found to make this possible. An agency with a properly qualified staff relieved of unnecessary job pressure should be able to develop the kind of constructive services that will assure the child's normal growth and adjustment in a secure home.

THE A.D.C. GRANT

The first step in assuring a secure home for the needy child is to provide the family with an income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living. This is recognized in the A.D.C. statute by the provision that when the child is eligible and the home is suitable, the parent or relative with whom he lives

⁷ *Annual Message of the President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, 1942*, p. 44.

⁸ Excerpt from "Summary of Discussion of the District Supervisors Meeting at Springfield, Ill., March 12-13, 1942."

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shall receive for his maintenance an amount of money "sufficient to provide him with a reasonable subsistence compatible with health and well being,"⁹ but the children have been short changed, and thousands live under conditions of wretched housing and insufficient food and clothing. Theoretically, the grant should be adequate and should equal the difference between the standard budget and the income and resources available to the family. Actually, the grant is inadequate. From October, 1941, through September, 1944, the grant was limited by administrative regulations to \$18 for the first child and \$12 for each additional child. On October 1, 1944, increased allotments in Illinois became effective, with a grant of \$40 a month for the first child.¹⁰ It remained at \$12 each for additional children. This was an important step in the right direction, but it was still only a step. It added only \$22 to the income of the family and left approximately 45 per cent of all A.D.C. families still in need of supplementation. For example, a mother with three children who had previously received \$42 a month received \$64 a month under the increased provision, but this is not enough to support a family of four. An additional state appropriation should be made available to the counties to enable them to give the entire grant necessary to maintain a minimum standard of living and to take all families out from under the poor law, not just a few.

The adequacy of the grant is of first importance, but it is equally important that the method of administering assistance should protect the home life of chil-

dren. A.D.C. is given to a family only for the children. The grantee, usually the mother, seldom has any other source of income, and she depends for her own support upon the children's money. It is an inverted situation for young children to support their parents; and if it is not treated with wisdom and understanding by the parents and the worker, it can be tragic in its consequences. A parent usually has as great a desire to provide for the children as the children have to be supported by their parents. The father or mother dependent upon children is often so frustrated that he feels inadequate in all his parental relationships. A child, sensing the anxiety and discouragement of the adult, can become emotionally so confused that his capacity to effect normal family relationships and sound social adjustments is impaired. An act amended to provide for the support of the dependent grantee or both the mother and the incapacitated father when he is in the home would help in maintaining parental authority and the pride and self-respect of both parents and children.

The administration of supplementary relief, according to the policies and procedures of the municipal agency, has become a constant source of defeat and discouragement to clients and to workers. The grantee is required to sign an affidavit of destitution, and he is subject to punishment for perjury if any part of his statement is proved false.¹¹ He begins his association with the agency in an atmosphere of suspicion that negates whatever good may come from his own effort to establish eligibility. His attempt to prove that he is entitled to relief is made difficult for him. If he is living in the home of relatives or if rela-

⁹ *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1943, chap. 23, "Charities," sec. 340.6.

¹⁰ Mr. Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, announced the increased award to begin with grants for October, 1944.

¹¹ *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1943, chap. 107, "Paupers," sec. 15b.

tives responsible for his support under the poor law are employed, he may be asked to bring them to the office or to bring a signed and verified statement from them of the amount of their wages. If this is refused, he may be considered ineligible on the ground that economic need has not been established because his resources cannot be determined. If his right to relief is established by eligibility, he receives relief that is becoming increasingly adequate, but he is told how to spend the money and if he spends it for a purpose for which it was not intended he is subject to fine and imprisonment.¹²

Whether he should work or not is decided for him. The mother may be asked to work if she is able-bodied and provision for the care of the children can be made; she is expected to work if all the children are over fourteen unless one child is delinquent or becomes delinquent. Continued eligibility is determined by an annual affidavit of destitution and by a review of family circumstances at least four times a year; but an anonymous letter stating that the client has undisclosed resources is sometimes sufficient to cause relief to be stayed until eligibility is again proved. Over and over again the worker witnesses the deterioration of family life and the disintegration of the family that is inevitable under policies founded in mistrust of the recipient. The Welfare Administration tries to make the relief of destitution a constructive experience for the grantee and one that will enable him to preserve and to mobilize his personal resources, but it cannot until a modern public welfare law abolishes the deterrent policies and procedures that are written into the poor law. The family finds it no easier to endure its humiliation and resentment be-

cause the old pauper-law philosophy is applied with a new technique.

Case-work service in administering the grant and general relief could well accept the concept that the grantee is an honest person and that conditions are as he states them. The burden of proof is put upon him to establish eligibility for himself and for his family. He is entitled to know and thoroughly to understand the requirements of initial and continued eligibility that are expected of him, and the agency has an obligation to make these requirements that are consistent with his self-respect and reasonably capable of fulfilment. Further, the agency should acknowledge a responsibility to assist him in this process when its resources can accomplish what his cannot. He has a right to assistance and to his own plan for the expenditure of his income. To deny him either right affronts his sense of independence; to affirm it requires that aid should be adequate. The right to assistance is a sterile right unless the grant brings dignity and a sense of economic competence to the family. Assistance on a budgetary basis should mean that the budget is understood by the family, acceptable to it, and consistently administered. A flat adequate grant would be of more benefit to a family than the present fluctuating assistance. The grantee also has a right to manage his own affairs, but the desire to discuss one's troubles with trust and in confidence is human, and in broken homes the parent usually turns to the worker. He will need the best there is in professional skill and practice to assist him, for his problems are often beyond his control until he is helped to discover resources in himself that he had not known he possessed. New agency resources should constantly be made available to him, and he should have case-

¹² *Ibid.*, sec. 15a.

work service sufficiently skilled to meet his problems as he sees them and to help him to understand the problems in need of solution of which he had not been aware. The agency is responsible for assistance and counsel administered in such a way that it leaves the client free to develop his own initiative and to move ahead in the solution of his own problems.

Policies should consider the welfare of the family and of the individual under any circumstances and in any situation. An individual has little choice in applying for relief or assistance as to whether or not he will accept the conditions under which either is granted. He may prefer to refuse the conditions and to go hungry but he cannot make this choice for his children. His responsibility for establishing eligibility may give him a wholesome sense of participation in a worth-while process, or it may awaken a fear in the less secure person that he cannot be sufficiently convincing and that his request may be denied. No amount of interpretation sometimes can overcome this fear, and he may make statements that later prove false. Often a grant spells security, which a family cannot bring itself to relinquish though the need for it no longer exists. The agency is responsible for meeting the situation through policies that restore self-respect and integrity. The right to supervise the expenditure of public funds carries with it the duty to educate families in their responsibility for an honest use of public money. It is understood that the right of the grantee to an unrestricted grant is not a right to use public funds as he pleases. If money given for the care and support of children continues to be wasted after a careful and patient attempt to give the grantee an understanding of his role as trustee for the children,

the grant should be discontinued. The grantee has always the recourse of appeal from what may seem to him an unfair decision.

Standards of assistance.—The aid that should be given is determined by a standard budget that permits a family to maintain itself in decency and self-respect. If the grant were only equal to the budgetary deficit, the family would be able to function as an economic unit and to maintain or re-establish the sound family and community relationships that are one objective of A.D.C.¹³ The standards have been formulated with the help of experts in the various fields and budgetary items have been revised fairly frequently in accordance with price changes. The budget considers the needs of all members of the household.

The food allowance is based on the Low Cost Diet figures published by the United States Department of Agriculture; it has been difficult to keep current because of the rapid fluctuation of food prices. Rent, fuel, gas, and light are budgeted as paid, but many A.D.C. children exist in substandard housing because of lack of funds. Property charges are allowed to homeowners in lieu of rent, and allowances for repairs are made in individual instances. Clothing estimates may vary with each family to provide a wardrobe sufficient in kind and quantity to protect health and to assure conformity with the customs of the social group to which the family belongs, but the grant is too small to permit the purchase of clothing unless the family has an additional income. Household expenses are estimated to include cleaning supplies and cooking and eating utensils; a personal allowance estimate covers the cost of requirements of hy-

¹³ *Manual*, Sec. V, chap. 8, "Standards of Assistance," pp. 1 ff.

giene and appearance; and "medicine chest" needs allow the usual household patented medicine. A small educational and recreational estimate enables the family to buy a newspaper, tobacco, school papers and pencils, and to make a church contribution. Family ingenuity and the free facilities of the community are expected to provide needed recreation.

These are the familiar expenses of everyday living. In addition, the need for medical care, for payment of debt contracted in the purchase of an article still useful to the family, and for life insurance is recognized. However, except in unusual instances, the grant cannot accommodate the inclusion of these costs in the budget, and they remain unmet unless the family has funds from a source other than the grant.

The general relief standard has been rising to meet the assistance level, but it is still lower, partly because all items are estimated, and none can be treated on an individualized basis. The amount of the supplementation is determined by the deficit, but the relief budget is affected by many factors and is usually in the process of revision. The food allowance is determined by the sex, age, occupation, and physical condition of the recipient. Rent varies with the number of rooms and the size of the household. The estimates for the cost of light and fuel for heating and cooking change with the seasons of the year and with the number in the family. The cost of clothing is estimated, but clothing is given in kind. The families are protected by medical care that is given as a service free to them. Any change in income, however, slight or temporary, necessitates an adjustment of the budget. As a result, the relief budget can become so variable that it may contribute to the insecurity

of the poor family that must plan for its needs on the basis of an income that cannot be anticipated. Few families can retain a sense of responsibility for planned expenditure when the income is received in cash, in kind, by order on a coal merchant, by ticket to a milk vendor, and in services.

Resources.—The income and resources of the family are seldom permitted to elevate the standard of living. Usually they are considered from the standpoint of protecting funds. There is one important exception. A.D.C. policy permits a family to retain a backlog of reserve funds that can be used in an emergency.¹⁴ An application may be accepted when the sum in reserve is less than enough to support the family for longer than six months, and an award may be granted if the resources are not more than enough to maintain the family for two months. This maximum reserve allowance cannot be accumulated after the family receives financial aid, but it can be retained during the life of the grant unless there is a need for supplementation. All resources must be exhausted before poor relief can be given. Very few families, indeed, have any funds on hand when they apply, but it has been heartening to many families to know that complete destitution is not required of them.

In order to be eligible, a family's income and resources must be less than the budgeted needs. Resources are defined to mean all property, real and personal, including the cash-surrender value of life insurance that a family had in its possession at any given time.¹⁵ So few fami-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. V, "Determination of Need," chap. I, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1943, chap. 107, sec. 15b. There is a statutory exemption on life insurance to the value of \$500 per person. This applies only for

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lies have resources in money, either through savings or by investment, that these will not be discussed here, but they do have other personal property that is taken into account.¹⁶ If a client should have a safety deposit box, he would be expected to show its contents to the worker. Each member of the applicant group must submit his insurance policies to the Bureau for examination and possible adjustment. Premiums are paid in advance by money made available through adjustment, and any cash reserve not required for coverage is counted as income. Whether an automobile is to be sold or not will depend upon the individual situation, but unless it provides essential transportation its salable price becomes a resource. The value of household goods is decided at the discretion of the Bureau. Usually there is not much value to what a family has, but if the possessions include an expensive rug or a good piece of furniture, its cash value is considered. Articles rich in sentiment but with small monetary value are disregarded, but jewelry of significant value is looked upon as an available resource. Clothing is not taken into account. Fortunately for the pride and dignity of the family, few have household goods or jewelry worth anything to anyone but themselves, and the question of salable possessions almost never need be raised.

Income.—All income regularly received is budgeted, but occasional gifts and slight earnings from irregular employment of brief duration are left for the family to apply to needs not otherwise met. However, when supplementary relief is received, income of any amount

from any source must be accounted. It is not improbable that this policy may lead occasionally to concealment of small amounts earned for some special purpose dear to the family. In order to enable the family to raise its standards of living through its own efforts after it receives aid, income equal to the maximum reserve allowance might well be exempted from the means test. This would free some professional time now given to budgeting and would increase the families' confidence in agency interest in their well-being.

Contributions from children.—No specific reference is made in the A.D.C. statute to assistance from children in the family who are too old to be included in the grant, but the policy is to regard them as an important source of family support, and children are expected to contribute to the fullest extent of their ability to do so.¹⁷ Underlying the policy is the philosophy that "the parents and children in a normal family feel a mutual obligation to assist each other." If the family relationships are such that the children do not feel this obligation, the administrative aim is then to "maintain and strengthen family solidarity," and the worker is cautioned to approach the child "as he himself would like to be approached were he in a similar position."

This responsibility to support is likely to rest most heavily upon the shoulders of boys, sixteen to eighteen years old, and the girls under twenty-one, who are living at home. Boys over eighteen are likely to be in military service, and the older girls generally have homes of their own. The assumption that this young person feels an obligation to support the members of his family cannot be accepted without more careful study. It is

families known to C.W.A. See also C.W.A., *Case Workers' Manual of Policies and Procedures*, p. 21.

¹⁶ *Manual*, Sec. V, chap. 3, pp. 2 ff.

¹⁷ *Manual*, Sec. V, chap. 7, "Assistance from Relatives," p. 4.

a feeling that society and the family attempt to instil in him, but that it is inherent is doubtful. A boy or girl responsible for the first time for his own maintenance is uncertain about his ability to support himself, and A.D.C. experience tends to suggest that he rejects responsibility for the support of others until he has some confidence in his own security. This attitude should be respected. A child who has suffered because of his father's inability to support his family has often a real fear of the duty that proved too much for the man. Also, the absence of his father may have left no one who could personify to him the idea of a family provider. When the agency has undertaken this role, his feeling toward it is frequently one of resentment for the many hardships from which he was not protected. He is convinced that the agency wants his contribution more to save its own funds than to help his family, and he believes—and perhaps he is right—that he is entitled to the enjoyment of his earnings. It is only when the unity of the family is jeopardized that the agency modifies its policy, but not infrequently the child has already left his home in emotional rebellion against the conditions that were imposed upon him. If he cannot maintain himself alone in the community—and few children can—he returns home burdened by a feeling of guilt because of his flight and nagged by a sense of defeat and failure.

Although the working child is not expected to contribute all his earnings because "a premium, not a penalty, should be placed on his effort to be independent, and an opportunity to benefit from the results of his own effort is a normal incentive to greater effort,"¹⁸ nevertheless, few contributing children feel that they have been fairly treated. When the fami-

ly is supplemented, the child's contribution is automatically budgeted at not less than 60 per cent of his earned income; if he refuses to contribute, he may be deleted from the budget. The present A.D.C. practice budgets 100 per cent of his earned income but allows for the expenses incidental to his employment and to his increased needs without any arbitrary limit on the amount. It is a generous allowance in nearly every instance, but families seem still to prefer a previous method that required the child to contribute the cost of his maintenance and permitted him to decide how much more he would contribute. This method was discarded in favor of the present method, which, theoretically at least, makes more money available to the family.

It is sometimes very difficult to determine what is the best policy with regard to the responsibility of the child for his own support and the support of his family. A policy that would permit a practice consistent with the best interests of the child might prove more beneficial to the economic and social welfare of the family in the long run, even though at first glance it would seem to sacrifice some of the financial advantages of the present policy.

Contributions from relatives.—The act makes no specific reference to contributions from relatives, but the philosophy of the Commission is that the child should receive public aid when only there is insufficient income and resources, including contributions from the relatives, to meet his needs. Relatives, like the older children, are regarded as responsible resources for the support of needy families or children. A child is not eligible for aid if the total income of the relatives living with the family exceeds the family budget, regardless of the attitude of the

¹⁸ *Manual*, Sec. V, chap. 5, "Income," p. 7.

relatives toward contributing to his support, although an exception may be made if the child's place in the family would be seriously jeopardized.¹⁹ When the child and the relatives do not live in the same home, it is recognized that "relatives should have an opportunity to maintain decent and reasonable standards of living irrespective of the needs of the person who is applying for assistance." The circumstances of the relatives and the strength of the relationship are discussed with the applicant family, and relatives are interviewed only if they seem able to assist. If they are able but unwilling to assist, the Bureau may decide at its discretion the action that should be taken.²⁰ In a similar situation affecting an applicant family in need of supplementary relief, the applicant may be advised that he must first file a complaint to compel support from legally responsible relatives.²¹

It is seldom necessary to interview a relative. Poor people usually have poor relatives; whose poverty is obvious in their manner of living. If the relatives are not poor, they are so close to it that they can support none other than themselves. Sometimes contributions are obtained, but they tend to be a small, irregular, and unreliable source of income. The humiliation that the families suffer when relatives are asked to assist is not worth the small sum that may be given. The relatives are humiliated, too, for often they would help if they could, and they think it is not fair for the agency to expect more of them than they can do.

Other benefits.—The family is expected to take advantage of all public and private benefits to which it may be eligible.

¹⁹ *Manual*, Sec V, chap. 7, "Assistance from Relatives," p. 7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Sec V., chap. 7, p. 8.

²¹ C.W.A., *Case Workers' Manual*, p. 6.

One of the most important public benefits at present is the Servicemen's Dependents Allowance, and families are urged to request their sons in service to make this available to them, but the decision rests with the serviceman. When the father is in service, a mother and one child may receive a flat grant of \$80, a sum usually adequate to their support and double the grant allowed to the A.D.C. mother and her child.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance also benefits a number of A.D.C. families. Neither program concerns itself with a means test, but the O.A.S.I. program is beginning to recognize a need for case-work services. These programs clearly indicate the advantage to the family of eligibility requirements that are simple and readily determined.

A "SUITABLE" HOME

It is an underlying assumption of any plan for the care of children that the home should be a good home, but to many social workers it seems undesirable to include in the state law a provision that the home maintained by A.D.C. funds should be suitable or fit. The objection is based on a fear that a multitude of subjective interpretations of terms that are not well clarified may cause homes with real values for the children to be declared ineligible because of unconventional conduct or environment. However, in 1941, thirty-one of the forty-three states then participating in the A.D.C. program by legislation or by regulation, gave some consideration to the standards of the home or the fitness of the parents.²² The real problem is not whether the theory of a fit home for every child should be in the A.D.C.

²² U.S. Social Security Board, *Aid to Dependent Children: A Study in Six States* (Public Assistance Report No. 2 [Washington, D.C., 1941]).

statute—it should be recognized in the law of every state—but how it can best be implemented to provide every child with the kind of home he should have.

The Bureau has not included an evaluation of the home in the process of determining initial eligibility, in the belief that "a home which seems superficially to be inadequate many times will lack only those elements which may be forthcoming when economic assistance is provided. The emotional satisfactions which a child derives from his home relationships are of as much, or more, importance to his happiness as his physical comfort." However, if the applicant seems mentally below normal or able to offer only inadequate care, the office may rule on the suitability of the home before assistance is granted.²³ When the home is rejected on this basis, it is customary to ask the interest of the Juvenile Court in the care of the children. The central office has twice decided questions of suitability at the request of the Bureau, and the decisions are interesting although they affect relatively few children. The presence of an incapacitated father in the home of the unmarried mother was held not to constitute *prima facie* evidence of unsuitability; a mother on parole from the state hospital was considered an ineligible grantee until such time as her legal rights were restored and she became legally competent to complete an assistance warrant.²⁴ The latter decision has affected a number of families in which the mother's social competence to care for her children has not been in question and the necessity for returning to the court of commitment

for legal restoration has many distressing implications. The first decision is characteristic of the new consideration that the unmarried family has received under A.D.C.

The question of what constitutes a suitable home has been raised. The answer is usually lost in a discussion of the conditions that make a home so unsuitable that the children must be removed for their own protection; however, these conditions are set forth in the Juvenile Court statute, while the A.D.C. statute considers the suitability of the home in "relation to standards of care and health, fixed by the law of the state and the regulations of the commission, including the social and educational opportunities of the child and the fostering and protection of its particular religious faith."²⁵ This was interpreted by the central administrative office to mean that "the people of Illinois have recognized their responsibility for the underprivileged child to the end that he may have the security of a home, the affection of a parent or relative, good health, the opportunity for education, the self-respect of being able to meet other children on equal terms."²⁶ With this as a base, objective criteria by which a home could be evaluated should be worked out. A usable standard would offer to workers with varying degrees of training and experience an objective guide in evaluating a home and in determining where case-work services were most needed. Interpreted to the family, it would help the parent to understand what was expected of him. It could aid the administrator to decide the validity of an appeal when

²³ *Manual*, Sec. IV, chap. 6, "Relative Relationships in Establishing Eligibility," p. 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. X, "State Hospitals, Schools, and Colonies," chap. 2, p. 4.

²⁵ *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1943, chap. 23, sec. 340.3.

²⁶ Wallace C. Clark, *An Appraisal of A.D.C. in Illinois* (Springfield, 1943).

the suitability of the home was the issue.

When standards of "care" and "health" and "social and educational opportunity" are required and when they have become formulated and capable of being interpreted in practice, the state has an obligation to the family to make them possible of accomplishment and the social worker has a professional responsibility to help the family to achieve them.

EDUCATION

The education of the young person between the age of sixteen and eighteen commands attention because he is eligible for a grant if he is in school. The policies relate chiefly to his eligibility, and they are usually generous. A girl in this age group who has married but is living in the parental home and attending school is eligible if her husband cannot support her; a pregnant unmarried girl who is absent from school only because of her condition remains eligible while receiving the grant.

The boy or girl must be enrolled in regular, full-time attendance in a public, private, or parochial grade school, high school, trade or vocational school, or college.²⁷ Allowance for tuition in a parochial school may be made in the family budget, provided a working child who is not in the assistance plan pays it from his earnings. Some school absence is expected and has no bearing on the child's status. There is a provision that allows the physically incapacitated child to become eligible if he is taught at home by a teacher under supervision of the local school,²⁸ but the provision is meaningless in Chicago, where there is no

home educational service of any kind. A blind or deaf child attending a state school is ineligible, but his status changes when he returns home permanently or during summer vacation.²⁹ Unfortunately, the young person over sixteen who is mentally incapable of benefiting from school attendance is ineligible.

The requirement of school enrolment is carefully enforced, and a verification from the school is obtained at least once each semester. However, there is as little disturbance as possible of the child's school relationship, and he is assumed to be in regular attendance unless he, his family, or the school reports that he is too frequently absent. The attempt to maintain his interest in his school work continues for as long as the school will continue to count him among its students. It is unfortunate that a young person upon becoming eighteen must be denied further assistance, regardless of his interest in school and however short the additional period that would permit him to complete his formal education.

The problem of the young person who leaves school to work is one of increasing importance. It is hard to hold the interest of the adolescent in academic subjects, and it becomes doubly hard when he is painfully aware that he has less money than his classmates. If he is working part time, he should be encouraged to remain in school by a recognition of his right to as much of his earnings as he considers necessary to give him a prestige equal to that of the students with whom he associates. If successful performance in the classroom demands his full time, there should be available to him scholarship funds that would not only see him through school until he reached his eighteenth birthday but would also enable him to continue his

²⁷ *Manual*, Sec. IV, chap. 7, p. 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, chap. 10, p. 4.

education for as long as his personal inclination and scholastic ability may warrant.³⁰

There is no policy of requiring school attendance for the child under sixteen, nor is there any call for such a policy. The responsibility of the home for the young child's attendance is recognized, and increasingly workers are encouraging the parents to keep in touch with the school in order to follow the child's progress. One of the obstacles to a child's school adjustment may be his inability to join with his class in meeting the many requests for money that are levied on school children today. Requests for money from children are an abomination and should be forbidden in the public schools; but until they are, some means should be found to protect the A.D.C. child from being known in the classroom because of his poverty. Society can never make up to the child the humiliation that he suffers when he feels conspicuous among his classmates because they can give away money that his parents cannot give to him even for necessities. This is often one root of his desire to leave school to earn money as soon as he can.

When co-operation between the welfare agency and the school is left to the social worker and the teacher, it is of indifferent quality. Worker and teacher are far too busy to have much time for each other, either in personal interviews or in the development of co-operative measures. It is the central administrative staff of the agency and the school that should recognize a mutual interest in the child and together should develop practices and resources that teachers and case workers could use in the child's behalf. There is an "adjustment teacher" for every Chicago elementary school and

³⁰ U.S. Social Security Board, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

high school, whose job is "to adjust the school to the child." He keeps a record on a child under his care, although the record is affected by the fact that he is an extremely overworked person. Every child is examined by the adjustment teacher through group techniques when he comes into the school, a method that brings the retarded child and the gifted child immediately to the attention of those responsible for his educational training. The Bureau of Child Study has a staff that includes a psychiatrist, a specialist in testing, and some sixty-five psychologists in both the elementary and the high schools. Again the field psychologist is an overworked person with some fifteen schools under his supervision, and he can visit an individual school only once a month. The school system is familiar with the educational problems of the physically and socially handicapped child. At present the only way this great and helpful body of information reaches the social agency is through an occasional letter of inquiry from a worker who wants something more from the school than routine verification of enrolment. There should be better ways by which two public agencies interested in children could exchange information, even if this had to be limited to the child whose behavior indicates a need for special consideration. At this point, the worker and the teacher could get together for a planned and co-ordinated service to the child.

HEALTH

The state central office has acknowledged a responsibility to provide adequate medical care for all recipients of public assistance, but, so far, only a remedial program has been designed to reach chiefly the needs of the aged and the blind. It does not make available the

kind of preventive service that children need. "At a later date" the program may be developed to include preventive measures, the maintenance of health, and the early discovery of incipient health problems.³¹ However, a preventive health service program may more properly be a function of a local department of public health, while a medical care program is a recognized responsibility of public welfare.

The present medical program for A.D.C. children is extremely limited, if it can be said to exist at all. When a child becomes acutely ill at home, he may call upon a county physician for emergency treatment. When continued care is necessary, any difference between the actual grant and an allowable maximum grant may be authorized to provide a doctor's services, but this means little because almost all A.D.C. families receive the maximum grant. If clinic care is indicated, the child can be referred to any private clinic that will accept him on a free basis. The clinics have been exceptionally generous in giving a free service, but they can do just so much. A more comprehensive medical care program on a direct service basis is available to children in supplemented families. There is some slight protection of the hospitalized child in the provision that the grant may continue "if the continuing expenses for him, added to the budget for the others in the family, equals or exceeds the maximum grant."³²

The worker's responsibility for assisting the client to deal with health problems presumably begins with the first interview and ends only when the award

is canceled.³³ Co-operative arrangements between the medical social worker in the clinic and the children's worker have been developed, but the agency worker still has the task of getting the family to the clinic and keeping it in attendance. It seems to be difficult for a doctor to appreciate the problem of the mother who must not only assemble her children and have them at the clinic by an appointed hour, but may also be called upon to keep them quiet and out of mischief during hours of weary waiting for an examination. This is not an important problem in itself, but it is a recurrent irritation that becomes important when it breeds resentment toward the clinic. Families become bitterly opposed to attending the clinic when the doctor is new at each visit, when the examination appears to be casual and the diagnosis hasty. His performance seems as inefficient to them as theirs may seem to him, but he has the privilege of criticism. It has sometimes been good case work to accompany the mother so that the worker may alleviate by sharing an experience that has become so distasteful, but the medical worker has the responsibility of interpreting client to doctor and doctor to client. The interpretation of the client's point of view is likely to be sidestepped, not because the worker is unaware of its importance, but because she hesitates to risk the doctor's displeasure. If she were able to give the doctor a better understanding, the problem of clinic attendance might be minimized.

A beginning has been made in preventive health measures for children. The public infant welfare stations offer services to infants under two years, but there is no public provision for the child from two years to six years. A program for

³¹ *Manual*, Sec. VI, chap. 5, "Objectives of the Medical Care Program," pp. 1-3.

³² *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, chap. 10, "Care in Public Institutions," p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, Sec. VI, chap. 1, "Objectives of the Medical Care Program," p. 3.

school children became effective July 1, 1944, under the compulsory Act To Provide Physical Examinations in elementary and secondary schools.³⁴ Probably a medical program supported by public funds under public auspices is the answer to the problem of health services for the medically needy child, but it will be long in coming and the children are here.

EMPLOYMENT

Two of the chief purposes of the A.D.C. program are "to enable mothers to remain in the home and care for their children, and to enable children to complete their education and arrive at physical maturity before having to go to work," but large numbers of mothers and adolescent children have accepted employment. The movement of mothers and children toward employment is motivated by the general trend of the times, but even more by inadequate grants.³⁵ It is also motivated by policies that require them to work if the family is to be supplemented. In 1943 the director reported:

While families have gained economically and in self-esteem by the mothers and children taking employment, there are serious and undesirable results. Relatively few children in A.D.C. families returned to high school in 1943. This may result in unemployment in their mature years. There is evidence that the health of the younger adolescent was threatened by certain types of employment. Many are carrying full-time jobs and school work. The effect on their health will be destructive in many instances. When the mother takes employment there are serious problems. Inadequate supervision has resulted in some delinquency. The employment of the mother places a serious strain on her. A number have broken down.

³⁴ *Laws of Illinois, 1943*, p. 1262.

³⁵ *Annual Message of the President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, 1943*, p. 43.

Children under sixteen in supplemented families are not required to work. Able-bodied and healthy children over sixteen are considered employable, and the child who is attending school full time is required to accept suitable part-time employment outside of school hours and to obtain full-time employment on Saturdays and during the summer vacation period. A young person who has reached his eighteenth birthday must have regular employment unless he is a high-school Junior or Senior in full-time school attendance and the high-school principal or vocational counselor agrees that it is to his benefit to complete his high-school education.³⁶ If the decision should happen to be contra, he would be expected to leave school for employment. Any unemployed employable child may become ineligible for relief if he fails to register with the United States Employment Service or to keep his appointment with the C.W.A. Employment Service.

The policy of enforced employment of a child because he had reached a certain age has nothing in case work to justify it. The child in a home dependent because of the desertion of a father who had a history of unemployment is often afraid of employment. The home may have been so staunch that he is a secure person, but the chances are great that his venture into a field in which his father could not prove himself is a formidable threat to him and that fear and anxiety lie hidden under youthful eagerness. A relatively secure child wonders if he will make a go of a job; the deprived child may carry into employment a feeling that the odds are against him. This anticipation of probable failure is a not infrequent occurrence. It is deeply rooted and so extensive that the child may not

³⁶ C.W.A. Official Bulletin No. 1934.

be able to make an adjustment to the chance job to which he is required to report, and the failure can affect his entire emotional response.

Another common problem is created by the failure of the agency, the family, and the young person to consider together the question of his own eligibility when he has employment or becomes old enough to work. It is a shock to him to find that he must meet certain requirements. He has had no previous recognition of himself as a dependent person or a person responsible to an agency for the performance of certain duties. His first response is often a desire "to get off relief," or he would rather be "out of the budget" than have his employer know his status. How to anticipate this attitude and how to help the child to handle the fact of his dependency are problems that have not been treated with success.

The vocational guidance and job placement of the young person about to enter employment is left to the placement counselor in the high school or to the United States Employment Service, although the Welfare Administration implements its requirement that the child secure employment by finding him a job if he cannot, or does not, find one for himself. Neither agency seems to pay much attention to the demands the job makes upon the child, and few A.D.C. case records indicate that the case worker is interested in the child's adjustment to employment.

There is no law in Illinois that says a child over sixteen may not work eight hours daily in addition to his school work, but the school placement counselor tries to keep him from a job that requires more than four hours of work in the afternoon, and C.W.A. also prefers that the combined classroom and work program should not exceed eight hours

daily, or extend beyond ten o'clock at night. Working for this number of hours affects the child's ability to study and to keep up with his class. He is either too tired to study, or his interest shifts from school attendance to full-time employment.

The transition from school attendance to full- or part-time employment should be a safeguarded experience. The young person often needs careful preliminary study and testing and patient assistance in finding the kind of employment best suited to his interest and aptitude. There is a need for co-operative procedures to be developed between the Bureau and the school or the employment agency that will make the initial employment of the boy or girl a helpful experience and one that will spare him the devastating effects that result when he fumbles one unsatisfactory job after another.

The welfare of children requires that all employment of young persons under eighteen should be in accordance with the provisions of the Illinois Child Labor Law, the Illinois Compulsory Education Act, and the federal Fair Labor Standards Act; and violations of these safeguards should be reported immediately to the proper law-enforcement agency. But the attitude of the Bureau toward violation of the child labor laws is variously influenced. Under a tentative decision regarding the confidential nature of case records, a worker now is "precluded from reporting violations of the law to law-enforcing agencies." Reporting violations without the consent of the mother presumably would make her regret that she had confided in the worker or might cause her to withhold information in the future. This in turn would probably create a poor relationship and "would be a handicap in determining eligibility in so far as need is concerned."

Therefore, it seems better to work with the mother and the adolescents by explaining the provisions of the law and the reasons for their passage and by trying to induce the family to conform to them. However, the need of teen-age children for a chance to grow and to obtain an education should be "emphasized."

RECREATION

The importance of wholesome recreation to normal adjustment, and the right of the child to participate in social activities on a basis of equality with other children are recognized, but the sum allowed him for this purpose³⁷ is too small to be effective. There are a number of national organizations in Chicago with programs that have universal appeal to children and young people, but the fact that membership is on a fee basis often excludes children who would be happy to become members. The individual worker is not in a position to work out co-operative policies with these agencies, although she often makes a special arrangement for one child that she would like extended to others. The Bureau, in co-operation with the national offices, should be able to bring these resources to the service of all its underprivileged children who desire them.

SPECIAL CASE-WORK SERVICES

Another group of children is demanding special attention. These are the neglected children, the delinquent and pre-delinquent children, illegitimate children and their mothers, who are scarcely out of childhood, and, possibly, children who are living with relatives or in board-

³⁷ \$1.00 a month for the head of the family and 75 cents for each other adult; \$1.00 a month for a child in high school and 25 cents a month for the preschool and elementary-school child (see *Manual*, Sec. IV, chap. 8, p. 14b).

ing schools or homes. Some have been referred for treatment to other community resources, but they are coming back to the Bureau. Not infrequently the psychiatrist has washed his hands of them, the school cannot cope with them, the clinic refuses them, and the agency has them, whether it wants them or not. They constitute a great challenge to administrative vision and case-work skill, and new resources should be developed to give them sound and constructive treatment.

A special service for each group of children mentioned below might well be developed, retaining the family as the unit of service.

Neglected children.—The welfare of the child in the grossly unfit home demands either that he be removed or that the home show a recognizable improvement within a given period of time. Good case work today provides supervision during this period, in order to discover any hidden real strengths in the home and to help the parent in developing these strengths. However, there are too many unfit and border-line homes which present the same sorry story of degradation year in and year out, and the worker does nothing about them; in some instances, the agency has become aware of the conditions in the home only after public complaint has brought the children to the attention of the Juvenile Court.

To have the child remain in the home, to protect him against conditions that are prejudicial to his interests, and, at the same time, to improve these conditions, required the finest skill in case work. To remove the child involves the strongest of all the emotional ties known to modern psychiatry. It involves the right of a parent to have his child with him, and the right of a child to be with his family. It requires the most able

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professional judgment to decide that the harm to the child resulting from neglect, or cruelty, or incapacity, or indecent surroundings is greater than the good that may come from the love and affection that his parents may still be able to give him.³⁸

It is the theory of the Juvenile Court that a child's home must be fit; but the statute defines only the conditions under which the home may be declared unfit, and these definitions call for further discussion and classification by the court and by social agencies. A worker with a case load of a hundred has not enough time to give to marshaling evidence that can be fully substantiated and will prove convincing to the court.

Another factor that allows the child to remain under unsatisfactory parental care is inadequate community resources for the long-time care of dependent and neglected children. The Cook County Juvenile Court has said for years that because of limited resources it cannot provide the kind of care these children should have; also the private institutions and child-care agencies on whom the court depends frequently decline to accept children who present serious problems,³⁹ and it seems better to permit the children to remain home under supervision than to commit them to state correctional institutions.

The delinquent and truant children.—The care and treatment of these children has been left more or less to the Juvenile Court and to the school authorities. The court again has been hampered in its work because foster-home placement for maladjusted delinquent children, par-

ticularly delinquent boys, is practically impossible to find. When the delinquent child in an A.D.C. family remains at home, the court worker and the A.D.C. worker seldom plan together a coordinated and helpful service to the child. Each is likely to rely on the other to do the work, and the child's behavior may reach an extreme that leaves the court no option but to commit him to an institution. The Board of Education has a special program for the treatment of the truant child, but it does not extend outside the walls of the school and it reaches only the child under sixteen years of age. The Bureau has not given sufficient attention to work with the pre-delinquent child, although the opportunity for preventive treatment is great. It sometimes seems that more time is spent regretting the lack of placement facilities than is given to helping the child with his problems. The extent to which the children who are placed in foster-homes run away in order to return to their own homes suggests that the first obligation of the worker may be to help the child find the solution to his conflicts in the home that has created them. Conduct, which reveals acute emotional disturbance and antisocial attitudes, is usually deep seated. It should be possible for the A.D.C. worker to offer the kind of intensive service that is needed. At present she can give some of the necessary case-work service and can mobilize other community resources in an attempt to help him, but she is not free to give adequate time and attention to the problems of the maladjusted child and the conditions that cause the maladjustment.

The unmarried mother under eighteen and her child.—Many very young unmarried mothers are receiving A.D.C. as dependent children. Some have been ad-

³⁸ Grace C. Benjamin, *The Guardianship of Children* (Chicago Illinois Conference on Social Welfare [now the Illinois Welfare Association, Springfield]).

³⁹ *Annual Message of the President of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, 1941*, p. 127.

judged delinquent but permitted to remain at home, and some have returned home after a period of institutional care; but the majority are dependent young persons who have never been known to other than assistance agencies. The problem of treatment is especially serious because so little is really known about the best way to help the girl and her baby.

One of the large private agencies⁴⁰ has recently established a special service for work with unmarried mothers—a service that is intended to assume responsibility for interpretation of the problem to the community, promotion of standards and of legislation, and co-ordination of all services to the mother and her child. This resource is available to mothers in receipt of public aid and is to be used by the Bureau as any other special service is used.

It has earlier been recommended by a Committee of the Council of Social Agencies that a specialized service, with an Advisory Committee, be set up under A.D.C.,⁴¹ but the recommendation has not yet been acted upon. It is suggested that this recommendation be reconsidered for the unmarried mothers under eighteen or under twenty-one who are dependent. A large number of mothers in this age group are known to the Bureau.

The child living in other than parental home.—Little is known about these children and the homes or schools in which they live. The child is in a situation different from that of the child in his own home and is often conscious of it. A kind of supervision comparable to that offered the child in a foster-home should be also assured to him.

⁴⁰ *Manual*, Supplement to Sec. X, "The United Charities of Chicago, Women's Service Bureau."

⁴¹ "Minutes of Meeting of Supervisory Staff of February 16, 1944."

Only when children with special problems receive a special attention will the case worker be free to devote herself to the problems of the majority of families who constitute the A.D.C. case load. No matter how competent the family may be in the management of its affairs, a continued need for public aid creates problems that the family must be helped to anticipate and to meet. Questions of housing, of management, and of nutrition constantly arise, and the fight for more adequate relief is an unremitting fight for the worker. Family relationships are there to be sustained. The incapacitated father must be kept from a sense of defeat, and the mother in the fatherless home will need encouragement to maintain her place as the head of the household to whom the children can turn. Sharing the problems of parenthood and helping children to accept the father or mother who has failed as a provider are important and time-consuming services. Bringing established community resources to the service of the family and developing new resources are part of the daily job of the A.D.C. worker if she is to keep dependency from being harmful.

CONCLUSIONS

Children have a right to a minimum, at least, of whatever is best to make them happy, healthy, and free from anxieties that have no place in childhood. The County Bureau has become established in the community as a family welfare agency with a qualified professional staff and a service program. It has a professional responsibility to develop a comprehensive program of services to meet the needs of dependent children.

The provisions of the A.D.C. Act and the statute creating the Bureau place no limit about the development of a constructive program, and the position of

community trust now held by the public agency obligates it to lead the way in providing the resources that children should have.

The services and resources most urgently needed now are:

1. Adequate grants, consistently administered.

2. Medical services to safeguard the health of children, including convalescent care.

3. Scholarship funds and allowances to school children sufficient in amount to give them equality with their more fortunate classmates in making use of school resources.

4. Recreational funds and summer outing facilities to enable children to be away from the city during the summer months when school is not in session.

5. Planned special services include psychiatric service, which should be available, preferably through staff psychiatrists and through psychologists who should be added to the staff. A housekeeping service and a nutritional service are also necessary to protect home life in times of emergency and to help the family carry out its desire to give the children good care.

The Children's Division in the C.W.A. belongs in the County Bureau and not in a relief agency and should be transferred. It should come back where the children are.

6. Special case-work services through specialized and limited case loads when families or a child in the family present acute problems that demand more time and attention than can ordinarily be given. The family should remain the unit for service.

7. Educational service to afford dependent parents an opportunity to discuss generally the problems of parenthood and to become acquainted with current thinking on what is best for the normal development of children.

The progress of the program can best be measured by the extent to which the children are benefited, and disappointingly little has been done for them. The program now has administrative policies and procedures that for the most part respect the integrity of the individual and protect the principle of individualized treatment. The case-work staff has competent supervision and is eager to do a professional job. The difficulties in developing and administering a program of children's service can be overcome when sound administration brings to them a sufficient vision and a sure sense of purpose.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL RESOURCES TO MEET EXISTING CHILD WELFARE NEEDS¹

MILDRED ARNOLD

IN DISCUSSING the development of local resources to meet existing needs I must, of necessity, focus my discussion on needs existing in the child welfare field and on a consideration of the development of services to children in the states and in local communities to help meet these needs.

There is no need to dwell upon major social problems affecting children during this war period because you in the states are dealing with these problems every day. We know, also, that few of these problems are really new but are the same old ones with which child welfare workers have been dealing ever since services to children began. They have, however, been intensified and highlighted by the war and, for the first time in many communities, have received the genuine interest and concern of individuals, organizations, and public officials.

In looking back over the last eight years since the passage of the Social Security Act, which brought the federal government into the picture financially in helping to provide Child Welfare Services, the federal government, the states, and many local communities can feel justly proud of the development of these social services to children. In 1935, at the time the act was passed, a few states did not even have a public welfare department to which the Child Welfare Services program, which was to be fi-

nanced by the federal government, could be attached. Some states had never had a child welfare division in the state welfare department; and, of course, public social services to children in local communities were particularly lacking.

Now every state has a department of public welfare and, with one or two exceptions, a child welfare division in the state department. Those exceptions are states which at one time had a separate children's division that has recently been merged with other divisions into a division of social services. Some states had never made an appropriation for a state child welfare program. Now all states have made some funds available. Many states have very materially increased their appropriations. One state that had no separate appropriation for its child welfare program until 1940 has increased its appropriation in the last two years from \$50,000 to \$130,000, and for the first time since the passage of the Social Security Act its state appropriation has exceeded the federal grant for Child Welfare Services.

In one of the poorer southern states the entire child welfare program was financed by federal funds in 1938. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, approximately \$50,000 was spent from state funds in the same state for the child welfare program, as compared with \$11,600 spent from federal funds. All states except Nevada have aid-to-dependent-children's programs, and all states except Utah are participating in the grant-in-aid program for Child Wel-

¹ Paper based on discussion at the Institute on State Methods of Improving Local Public Welfare Services, given by the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, July 20-27, 1944.

fare Services. Plans submitted to the Children's Bureau for the fiscal year 1945 show that some local areas in every state have Child Welfare Services. A few states have had almost phenomenal developments in the last eight years in providing practically state-wide coverage through local services. For instance, a western state plans this year to make available the services of child welfare workers—if and when these workers can be secured—to thirty-seven of the thirty-nine counties in the state with state funds, providing for seventy-eight local child welfare workers and fourteen local child welfare supervisors. Although state officials fully appreciate the difficulty of securing personnel, the important thing is the acceptance of public responsibility for the welfare of children in that state with planning for services which are state-wide and not confined to a few scattered counties.

One might justly ask: "What has been lost in the development of these services to children during the war period?" In looking back over the last three years, we can be thankful, perhaps, that not more has been lost than is apparent at this point. The structures for social services to children, which have been painfully built up, have been maintained. Public assistance case loads have been materially reduced, which should have meant the development of better services if not overbalanced by the loss of staff. Apparently most states have not reduced their appropriations, and some states have increased them. There has been an awakening of community interest in children, and in many areas this interest has been organized to meet child welfare problems as never before. In the child welfare field, of course, the two biggest problems that the war has brought have been the great loss of qualified personnel

and the great intensification of problems of children, particularly in the war-industry centers.

Figures collected by the Children's Bureau at intervals of six months show that the percentage of positions which were budgeted in the child welfare plans, to be paid for in whole or in part from federal funds, and which were unfilled, increased from 17 on December 31, 1940, to 38 on June 30, 1943. Figures for December 30, 1943, showed a slight improvement in that the percentage of unfilled positions dropped to 30. It is true that the states budgeted a somewhat larger number of positions in an attempt to meet the increasing problem; but, even so, the percentage of unfilled positions was alarming. It is hoped that the figures for last December are an indication that the increase in unfilled positions has been checked. A closer examination of these figures shows that services to local areas have suffered most. The percentage of local positions unfilled increased from 16 on December 31, 1940, to 43 on June 30, 1943, and then dropped to 32 per cent on December 31, 1943. There has been tremendous turnover in staff. On December 31, 1943, 51 per cent of the persons employed in professional positions in the child welfare program, paid in whole or in part from federal funds, had been in their present positions for less than one year. Of the workers giving direct services to children, 56 per cent had been employed for less than one year.

In reviewing the last eight years, particularly the last three, which have been war years, we might feel like the Vermont farmer who said that his crops hadn't been as good as he expected and he didn't expect they would be. However, now is the strategic time for us really to give attention to needs in the programs

of services to children. This is true for a number of reasons: public interest has been awakened to the problems of children; we will soon be facing a postwar period, which we hope will bring an expansion of public services; there is more than \$14,000,000,000 in the state treasuries at this time; there will be sessions, during 1945, of forty-four of the state legislatures.

What, therefore, are some of the serious lacks in our child welfare programs, and what are some of the needs to which we should give attention, particularly during the next few years? In the first place, there needs to be developed, all over this country, a philosophy of public responsibility for social services to children. That such a philosophy has never really been developed is evidenced by the spotty services we find in the states and by the vast areas where social services to children have never been available. There has been acceptance, to a certain extent, of public responsibility to meet the economic needs of people. Aside from this, where there has been acceptance of public responsibility for children, it has been mainly for care of children removed from their own homes and placed in foster-care. There has been little acceptance of public responsibility for keeping children in their own homes, other than for meeting an economic need.

The acceptance of public responsibility should manifest itself in the provision of social services for children in every local subdivision in every state. It is alarming to note the number of states which still do not have basic legislation providing for social service to children at the local level. Some states which do have this basic legislation have provided, up to this point, social services in only a few isolated counties, mostly through the use of federal funds. The

year 1944-45, when forty-four state legislatures are meeting, should be a strategic time to strike for this basic legislation where it is not already provided and for the appropriations to provide these services.

I feel quite sure that, in order to have these services in every local subdivision, it will be necessary for the states to appropriate at least part of the cost of salaries of the child welfare workers. And certainly the federal government has enough at stake in the welfare of children to pay part of the cost of social services to children in every local subdivision, instead of in a few so-called "demonstration units," which sometimes demonstrate but leave nothing permanent and which are now fewer than before the war.

It is time, also, that attention be given to provision of resources for child welfare workers in local areas, particularly funds for the care of children who must be removed from their own homes. Too often, workers are placed in local communities with no funds with which to work, and a disproportionate amount of their time goes to securing funds from county officials or to canvassing interested groups for donations. Otherwise they are unable to carry out adequate plans for children.

Has not the time come to face squarely this need for adequate funds for foster-care of children and to consider whether state funds, and perhaps federal funds, should be made available? In developing this program care should be taken that services are still kept at the local level where the child and all his ties and interests are, and that the states do not develop a large direct-care program at the state level. Some state departments, particularly in New England, which developed large direct-care programs in the

past, are now bogged down by such programs, which prevent them from developing local services for children in their own homes. Such programs tend to drain the state of its resources, both in personnel and in funds. It is very difficult to individualize the services for children under such a plan. One little boy, being cared for under a state direct-care program, said of himself recently: "I am nobody's nothing!"

What are some of the considerations which should go into developing and strengthening these local services to children, and what are some of the obstacles in the way?

As has been pointed out, there are vast areas in this country where the services of child welfare workers are not available. This situation has some rather serious implications. Because the public assistance program must be in effect in every local subdivision if the state is to participate in the federal program and because, as a result, there are public assistance workers in these local subdivisions, there is a tendency to ask these workers to take, in addition to their regular case loads, cases of child dependency, neglect, and behavior problems, as such cases happen to come to the attention of the local department and to fall within the workers' respective areas. The workers may have only a very few cases at isolated intervals, and such cases—many presenting serious problems calling for a great deal of skill—must be secondary to the worker's otherwise very large load of public assistance cases. Her public assistance work is based upon skills and techniques required in that field; yet she is called upon occasionally to handle other types of cases for which she may be totally unprepared and unequipped. In addition, there is often no planning by either the state or the coun-

ty department to give these workers training and regular supervision which would enable them to develop the skills and techniques required.

In some areas local Child Welfare Services have been too much isolated and have not been set up as an integral part of the entire local public welfare programs. A few states have made a practice of setting up these services outside the local welfare department; or, if they placed them within the department, they have not really made them a part of the total program. Child Welfare Services have not always been so closely integrated with the Aid to Dependent Children program as they should be. As a result, cases are often referred to the child welfare worker, in which her greatest contribution would have been made through consultation with the public assistance worker, with the latter retaining the case. Take, for instance, the D family, where an invalid mother and a twelve-year-old daughter were receiving A.D.C. When the two older sons were called into the armed services, the agency assisted the applicant in obtaining servicemen's dependents allotments amounting to \$75 a month. The agency then closed the case on the basis that this income was sufficient to meet the needs. Just three months later there was a reapplication. The daughter, who was staying out of school to care for her invalid mother, was anxious to have help in arranging for her mother's care so that she could return to school. The application was rejected because of sufficient income, and the case was referred to the child welfare worker. This worker made plans for housekeeper service, and A.D.C. was again granted to help meet the deficit. Would not consultation between the public assistance worker and the child welfare worker, before the case was

closed, have pointed up the real situation in the family, especially the hardship involved for the girl? Such consultation not only might have prevented the discontinuance of the grant and the girl's subsequently leaving school but also might have prevented the coming into the case of a new worker to whom the family had to adjust. There is need, in public assistance cases, for looking at the total family situation and getting at the heart of eligibility. Child welfare workers, through consultation, can give much help in meeting this need.

More time, attention, and skill are needed in referral of cases. We can no longer be content to decide where the client should go for services and merely tell him to go there. That is one lesson we have learned from the confused and chaotic state of the day-care program in some regions. In this program we have met a new group of clients. Where the community has provided a counseling service to assist women who are working to make adequate plans for their children, these parents have expected help from the counseling service itself, as evidenced by their willingness to come to the service. The counseling service has had to be prepared to give that assistance or has had to do a very skilful job of referral if it expected the client actually to reach the place to which he was sent. One community, which has a very adequate counseling service, reports that it sometimes works with a mother for several months before she is ready to accept referral to another agency. The child welfare workers should be able to help the public assistance workers in this matter of referral.

If child welfare workers are to take their rightful place in the public welfare programs of the future, not only must they provide skilled case-work services

to children and their families, which will reach into all local subdivisions, but they must give greater attention to the marshaling of community resources for all children.

Child welfare workers are in a unique position to see, through their case-work services, what the inadequacies in community services are doing to families and children. In one state the workers saw what the lack of funds for the A.D.C. program did to children last year when the grants were so reduced that they met only 50 per cent of budget needs. Child welfare problems and the number of cases coming to the child welfare workers immediately increased. Mothers started working outside the home; children were neglected; or unsatisfactory foster-care plans were made by the mothers. Some mothers even sought to give up their children for adoption.

Child welfare workers have an obligation, through the knowledge which comes to them in their case work, to see the conditions in the community which affect all children, to see the gaps in community resources, and to help do something about these conditions. Many local child welfare workers have been active in community planning, but too often this is left to the individual worker instead of being part of the function at both the state and local levels.

A visit by a Children's Bureau consultant to a county in one state recently brought this out very clearly. This state is unusual in many respects. The county departments have broad responsibilities for children. With few exceptions, all county directors have had training in social work, and this is also true of many supervisors and workers. The financial resources in the state are good. The program, both in the state department and in the counties, is an integrated one, so

that there are no Child Welfare Services designated as such. The county has a population of over 75,000. All the children's cases, aside from A.D.C., were of children in foster-homes; and there were less than 50 such cases. The county department had very few unmarried-mother cases referred to it; the county director stated she felt the county had a fairly large number but that the welfare office just did not hear about them. The county welfare department had little practice with adoptions, since most adopting parents have arranged through the court for adoption at the time of taking a child. When asked whether local physicians did placements for adoption, the county director thought they probably did, although her office does not hear of them. Aside from the A.D.C. cases, the county department is giving no service to children in their own homes whose parents need help or where the children have behavior or other problems. Yet, in a six-month period there were nearly three-hundred cases heard in juvenile court, about half involving adults for contributing to the delinquency of children. The county director stated: "We have put stress on the organization of financial assistance and we are, I believe, thought of only as a relief organization. I do not believe anyone with a child who had behavior problems would think of our office as a place where they could secure help. We must put some thought on this." And yet this county director is an intelligent person, sensitive to the needs of people. There is a need for vigorous state leadership to help her understand her role as county director and to help the county department assume its full responsibility for child welfare work in the community.

In another county, located in a different state, the regional consultant saw

the county welfare department participating in a much more positive way in community action. After studying the county services, the consultant concluded that the child welfare worker had done a skilful and competent job, especially in community organization. The worker had made good use of community resources and had stimulated an awareness of conditions affecting children in the community. The worker had received regular help from the state child welfare consultant, trained and experienced in this field. The state consultant not only helped the worker to see lacks in the community as revealed by her casework services but also assisted her in setting up an active committee, to provide an avenue through which the conditions affecting children could be studied and reports made to groups which might be interested to help correct these conditions.

And this brings us finally to a consideration of the leadership which the state welfare departments must take in the development of sound local services to children. No state should be content until it gets basic legislation providing for social services to children in all local subdivisions and also a plan for the sound financing of these services. This may take years in many states, but every state legislature should be made to face the issue until it is met.

The state should not only participate in the cost of these services but should also develop services at the state level which will reach down into every local subdivision with consistent and regular guidance and help to the local staff. This guidance and help must be given by people experienced in child welfare. They should be free from administrative matters having to do with the welfare programs as a whole, so that they can con-

centrate on helping these local child welfare workers. Many of these workers are ill prepared to handle the serious situations brought to them; they are young and inexperienced, isolated professionally from others in their field, not too sure always of their own philosophy, and often subjected to terrific community pressures. The local child welfare worker has responsibility for a many sided program. She must be assisted and stimulated in the development and use of skills to carry on this varied program. She must be helped continuously to examine the basic principles under which she is working in relation to the various

attitudes in the community. In all too many communities the feeling still prevails that children labeled dependent and neglected are different from other children, and so to the neglect of the parents is added the neglect of the community. The latter is often much more difficult for the worker to deal with. The state department must have clear insight and firm conviction about the needs of all children in the state and must demand for them the services that will make it possible for them to become intelligent parents and citizens.

UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN THREE WESTERN STATES

BARBARA C. COUGHLAN

ONE of the most challenging provisions of the Social Security Act (Title V, Part 3) relates to Child Welfare Services. Written in broad terms, this section provides federal funds "for the purpose of enabling the United States through the Children's Bureau to cooperate with State public-welfare agencies in establishing, extending and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public-welfare services (hereinafter in this section referred to as 'child-welfare services') for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent."¹

Because of the comparatively small annual appropriation — \$1,500,000 — there was perhaps some reason to question whether very much could be accomplished by this program. That is, would Child Welfare Services develop simply as a narrow highly specialized service affecting only a very small proportion of the children in the United States or would it become a broad educational force making significant contributions to the whole field of public welfare. An attempt has been made to evaluate the contribution made by this new method of helping children in three western states—Idaho, Nevada, and Utah. These particular states were selected because in none of them prior to the time of the beginning of federal Child Welfare Services was there a public state-wide children's program, apart from institutional care, and in only one

of them (Idaho) had a state department of public welfare been created. This simplifies identification of the role played by Child Welfare Services in the development of state and local welfare programs.

A fair appraisal of the accomplishments of Child Welfare Services in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah must take into account their particular social, economic, and physical organization. None of the three could be classified as industrial states. Farming, stock-raising, and mining provide the main sources of income. Various defense industries are reported to have swelled Nevada's population from 110,247 in 1940 to 146,090 in 1943, and Utah's from 550,310 to 600,000. Idaho has not been industrially affected by the war, and the state's population of 524,873 has probably not increased since 1940. Nevada and Idaho have a relatively large force of transient labor in farming and mining. Utah has a homogeneous and stable population, with 60 per cent in the rural areas belonging to the Church of the Latter-Day Saints.

The reasons for social organization found in more densely settled areas have been lacking in these states, which are large in areas and small in population. Welfare programs have grown haphazardly and without conspicuous state leadership. Provision for relief was solely a local responsibility until the depression. Aid was insufficient and unequal among the various counties. The Nevada State Welfare Department, created in 1937,² remains still without a director to co-

¹ 49 U.S. Statutes at Large 633 (1935).

² Nevada Laws, 1937, chap. 127.

ordinate the activities of the only two state-operated programs—Old Age Assistance and Child Welfare Services. The supervisors of each division are directly responsible to the State Board. There is no state supervision of general relief, mothers' pensions, and blind aid, which are administered independently by the boards of county commissioners without the aid of one trained worker. Since its reorganization in 1941³ Idaho's Public Welfare Department has remained closely under the control of the governor and, at the present time, consists of two main operating units—the bureaus of Social Service and Child Welfare Services. Organization of the Utah State Department of Public Welfare was changed in 1941 from a state board, established in 1935,⁴ to a three-man commission, and responsibility for the main public functions was integrated into one unit.⁵ County departments are charged with responsibility for the administration of welfare activities, subject to the rules and regulations of the State Department.

Prior to the beginning of Child Welfare Services in 1936, provision for the care of children was extremely limited in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah. The only state-wide resource for dependent children in their own homes was county relief and mothers' pensions. Dependent and neglected children, who needed care away from their own homes, were sent to the State Orphans' Home in Nevada and to privately owned, publicly subsidized institutions in Idaho and Utah. The last two states each operated a public institution for mentally deficient children and a school for the deaf and

blind. Blind, deaf, and mentally deficient children from Nevada were sent to institutions in neighboring states. In all three states public health services were inadequate. Juvenile courts had no trained probation officers. There was no social service personnel to serve the state institutions for juvenile delinquents. Obviously, the policy of *laissez faire* with regard to social welfare had been but recently shaken by the depression when Child Welfare Services was introduced.

EARLY ACTIVITIES

No uniform standards were imposed by the Children's Bureau on the states, but, from the beginning, the emphasis was placed on securing properly qualified personnel. Political leaders generally accepted the theory that the child welfare worker had nothing to offer except skill and knowledge, since public assistance was not usually involved. A considerable resistance to out-of-state personnel had developed as a result of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The importance of local workers was accepted; and, on the whole, the first plans were such as to permit local personnel to receive training.

The only three qualified persons in Idaho had been given professional education through F.E.R.A. scholarships. They, together with the three most promising workers of the Idaho Co-operative Relief Agency, formed the nucleus of the new Child Welfare Services program. The general objective was to establish a uniform state program covering the following activities:

1. Co-operation with existing children's agencies and institutions.
2. Assistance in organizing child welfare activities in cities and counties.
3. Consultant service to local communities and

³ Idaho State Department of Public Welfare, *Biennial Report, 1941-42*, p. 5.

⁴ *Utah Laws, 1935*, chap. 69.

⁵ *Utah Laws, 1941*, chaps. 66-10 and 68-1.

counties on special problems affecting children.

4. Laying a foundation for possible later assistance to the State Department of Public Welfare and Department of Education in connection with itinerant clinics, providing mental or physical examinations, psychiatric services, and child guidance in the event the departments undertook such programs.
5. Educating and training existing family welfare and relief workers in child welfare work.⁶

To carry out these functions a well-qualified person to direct the program was secured from out of the state. Owing to the feeling against nonresident personnel, this was on a temporary basis while an Idaho worker took educational leave to qualify herself for the position of supervisor. The temporary instructor-supervisor carried on a program of education of the five district workers. One early criticism of the program was that the counties were getting tired of "government" people coming in and starting things which they never finished.⁷ This objection was partly overcome in the beginning by the fact that the program was attached to the permanent welfare agency in each county. Now, of course, Child Welfare Services has proved that it is not a temporary program.

In Nevada the basic need was for an educational and demonstration program that would stimulate the state and local communities to develop adequate resources for the care and protection of children. To this end a trained instructor-supervisor was secured through the assistance of the Children's Bureau. The state was divided into three large districts, and the only three qualified social workers in the state were given responsibility in these areas for acquaint-

ing the county commissioners and the public at large with the aim and scope of work planned for children and for assisting them in carrying out such objectives.⁸ The limited number of state residents qualified for these positions made it difficult to get the program started. To provide a larger supply of qualified workers, much attention was devoted to interesting local persons in securing the training for this work. Effort was also directed toward showing the need for such a program. The prevailing attitude was that Child Welfare Services was all right for urban areas but that Nevada could get along very well without it, especially if it was going to cost anything.⁹ People in rural communities saw only isolated instances of children lacking proper care and protection and so did not understand the need for a planned state-wide child welfare program. After demonstrating what could be accomplished in a few cases, Child Welfare Services gained increasing public acceptance and support.

The first project of Child Welfare Services in Utah was a state training program adopted for the following reasons:

1. There was considerable feeling against bringing outside workers into the state.
2. Salaries offered were too low to attract outside workers.
3. It was important that workers be familiar with the Latter-Day Saints church to be acceptable.
4. There were a number of able persons in the state who, it was felt, could be helped by this training.¹⁰

⁸ Nevada, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S. C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2 [1936]), p. 1.

⁹ Cecilia Carey, "What Child-Welfare Services Have Meant," *Proceedings of the Conference on State Child-Welfare Services* (U.S.C.B., Maternal and Child-Welfare Bulletin, No. 3 [1938]), p. 12.

¹⁰ Utah, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S. C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2a [1936]), p. 2.

⁶ Idaho, "State Plan for Child-Welfare Services" ("U.S. C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2 [1936]), p. 1.

⁷ Idaho, "Child-Welfare Services Report" (U.S. C.B. [1937]), p. 2. (Typewritten.)

According to a rotation system, carefully selected local workers from all parts of the state were given a three to six months' course of intensive training in general principles of child welfare work. A small number of children's cases were carried under close supervision. The workers were then to return to carry responsibility for all children's services in their counties. After fifteen workers had been trained in this manner, the plan was discontinued. It was recognized that this was not an acceptable substitute for the formal education received in a school of social work and that many of the local workers selected did not have the background to enable them to benefit from this sort of experience. This, in itself, was of definite educational value to the State Department, which came to its own conclusions on the subject.

Not only were plans for Child Welfare Services individualized when set up in the different states but they have changed as the need has arisen. Public welfare organization in two of these states has been substantially changed. In Nevada it has remained far too static. Idaho changes governors each two years; no governor since 1935 has been elected for two consecutive terms. There have been important welfare changes each two years, and the director of the department has also changed biennially. The welfare structure of Utah changed radically in 1941, and the reorganization powers given the governor at that time have had a disturbing effect on the department. In such small states the governor is always kept aware of the fact that there is in the department a co-operative plan with the Children's Bureau and something of its general content. In administering this program, it is important to consider the plans and wishes of each new administration and,

at the same time, to try to insure the fact that each successive plan shows progress in the field of child welfare and the means whereby adequate services are provided for children.

FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION

Title V, Part 3, of the Social Security Act provides that the federal government will pay part of the cost of district, county, or other local Child Welfare Services and state services for assisting community child welfare organization. Because of the limited appropriation, federal funds cannot be used for maintenance or specialized care of children.¹¹ No fixed proportion of state matching is specified, and each state is granted \$10,000 a year from the federal government plus additional funds based on the ratio that the rural population of each state bears to the total rural population of the United States. Nevada receives annually \$11,129; Idaho, \$15,861; and Utah, \$14,128.¹² Any funds not budgeted by a state for a fiscal year are available to that state until the end of the second succeeding fiscal year, according to the provisions of the Act.

Support for the Child Welfare Services program in Nevada came first from the Works Progress Administration.¹³ Office space, equipment, and stenographic help were supplied by this agency. The State Board of the Welfare Department did not provide funds for Child Welfare

¹¹ Katherine F. Lenroot, "Philosophy and Development of Federal-State Relationships," *Proceedings of the Conference on State Child-Welfare Services* (U.S.C.B. Maternal and Child-Welfare Bulletin, No. 3 [1938]), p. 5.

¹² U.S. Children's Bureau, "Instructions to Public-Welfare Agencies in Regard to Official Material Required in Administration of Child-Welfare Services" ("CWS Information Circular," No. 10 [1943]), p. 12. (Mimeographed.)

¹³ Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Services until 1937, when \$2,000 was allotted. In 1939-40 this was increased to approximately \$6,000; in 1941-42 to \$10,000; and in 1943-44 to \$30,000. Allocation has been solely at the discretion of the State Board. Inclusion of a specific item in the state's biennial budget or designation of a definite proportion of the tax rate would insure more adequate and stable financing. Handicapped financially, state coverage is incomplete and regular consultant services are lack-

Two counties at different times requested that the child welfare worker be employed half-time by the state so that the county could employ the worker half-time for recreational and relief activities. If full advantage had been taken of these opportunities, it might have meant the beginning of county welfare units. Since counties in Nevada are actually quite autonomous, welfare organization should be developed at this level if it is to be effective.

TABLE 1*

FEDERAL AND STATE FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN IDAHO BY YEARS IN DOLLARS AND PERCENTAGES, 1936-43

YEAR	AMOUNT IN DOLLARS			PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURES	
	Total	State	Federal	State	Federal
1936.....	\$ 3,996.22	\$ 285.41	\$ 3,710.81	7.1	92.9
1937.....	16,673.74	2,914.91	13,758.83	17.5	82.5
1938.....	13,175.67	1,245.15	11,928.52	9.5	90.5
1939.....	11,901.11	1,208.62	10,692.49	10.2	89.8
1940.....	16,091.09	536.26	15,554.83	3.4	96.6
1941.....	28,210.63	10,707.99	17,502.64	38.0	62.0
1942.....	23,596.57	9,778.01	13,818.56	41.4	58.6
1943.....	18,188.88	6,961.90	11,226.98	38.2	61.8

* Sources: Idaho, "Quarterly Reports of Obligations Incurred for Child-Welfare Services Included under State Plan" (U.S. Children's Bureau, 1936-43), Financial Reports, CWS-11.

ing. Until 1943, local child welfare workers were without money for stenographic help either for typing records or for correspondence. This service is now provided on a contractual basis through the use of state funds.

Counties in Nevada contribute only office space, equipment, and limited funds for relief to children. This is largely because welfare programs have been state operated since the time of W.P.A. and F.E.R.A. These two programs did not further the establishment of permanent local welfare agencies. When Child Welfare Services was inaugurated, it fell in with the established pattern.

The Nevada E.R.A. provided \$2,000 annually for the relief of children under the supervision of child welfare workers until 1943, when it was liquidated. Now there are no state funds for the care of needy children outside of institutions. Case-work services are limited in their effectiveness when there is not enough money for food, clothing, and shelter. Future contributions of the program in Nevada are dependent upon the development of related assistance programs.

Table 1 shows that there has been a definite increase in the amount of money spent by the state of Idaho for services to children. These figures include only

those items for which some federal funds were expended. If all actual expenditures by the state, such as stenographic help, office space, and equipment, had been included, it is said that the amount would have more nearly equaled federal expenditure. In addition to paying part of the administrative expense, the State Department of Public Assistance has made available funds for boarding care of children supervised by child welfare workers. Two hundred dollars a month

244.71 for the 1941-42 biennium as compared to \$25,343.06 for 1939-40.¹⁵ This represents a 43 per cent increase in the investment made by Utah in the care and protection of its dependent and neglected children. If it had not been for the difficulty in securing staff and for the many vacancies in positions, the state's contribution for 1943 would have been still larger.¹⁶ The proportion of funds contributed by the counties is limited by law to 15 per cent of the total obligations

TABLE 2*
FEDERAL AND STATE FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES
IN UTAH BY YEARS IN DOLLARS AND PERCENTAGES, 1936-43

YEAR	AMOUNT IN DOLLARS				PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE		
	Total	Federal	State	Local	Federal	State	Local
1936.....	\$ 5,921.66	\$ 3,029.48	\$ 876.91	\$2,015.27	51.2	14.8	34.0
1937.....	9,486.88	7,284.30	649.68	1,552.90	76.8	6.8	16.4
1938.....	17,460.55	9,462.75	6,398.83	1,598.97	45.3	36.6	9.1
1939.....	27,802.04	15,706.03	9,451.62	2,644.39	56.5	33.9	9.5
1940.....	25,707.89	14,570.62	7,803.11	3,334.16	56.4	30.4	12.9
1941.....	30,981.69	18,507.54	8,744.98	3,729.17	59.8	28.2	12.0
1942.....	30,441.07	14,868.38	11,524.11	4,048.58	48.8	37.8	13.3
1943.....	24,953.30	10,138.06	11,445.21	3,370.03	48.6	45.9	13.5

* Sources: Utah, "Quarterly Reports of Obligations Incurred for Child-Welfare Services Included under State Plan" (U.S. Children's Bureau, 1936-43), Financial Reports, CWS-11. Figures pertain only to items for which some federal funds were expended, such as salaries and travel of local and state workers, special consultant services, conferences, library, and educational leaves

was allotted for this purpose in 1938, and by 1943 the amount is reported to have increased to \$1,000 monthly.

Local governmental units in Idaho do not participate in categorical assistance or welfare programs.¹⁴ Counties are responsible only for direct relief. They have contributed special assistance to children under the supervision of child welfare workers in many cases.

The state and counties together in Utah now provide 59.4 per cent of the cost of items for Child Welfare Services, as shown in Table 2. Including all expenditure, the state paid a total of \$36,-

incurred by county departments of public welfare.¹⁷

In administering this program, the intent of the Children's Bureau was not to underwrite an inclusive children's program in each state but rather to assist the states in meeting their legal obligations for dependent and neglected children.¹⁸ A study of Utah, Idaho, and

¹⁵ Utah, State Department of Public Welfare, *Biennial Report, 1941-42*, p. 76.

¹⁶ Memorandum from the regional consultant, U.S. Children's Bureau, September, 1943.

¹⁷ *Utah Laws, 1937*, chap. 88.

¹⁸ Mary Irene Atkinson, "Administration of Child-Welfare Services from the Federal Level," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1938*, p. 551.

¹⁴ *Idaho Laws, 1937*, chap. 182.

Nevada shows that the result has been to draw out state and local finances far in excess of the annual federal grant.

EXTENT OF THE PROGRAM

The assignment of workers on a comparatively large district basis was justifiable in the first stages of development, but it is now generally accepted that social treatment facilities for children can be offered best at the local level.¹⁹ Nearness to the child enables the worker to give more effective service. Early reporting makes possible treatment in the incipient stages. Control of community forces and co-ordination with the school, court, and other local agencies are some advantages of localization of responsibility in a program for the care and protection of children.

An increasing number of local child welfare units have been developed through the use of federal funds under Title V, Part 3, of the Social Security Act. The Idaho, 1943, plan for Child Welfare Services provided for fourteen workers to be placed in thirteen counties, comprising 60 per cent of the population.²⁰ However, three of these local positions were unfilled as of June, 1943.

The Utah State Department of Public Welfare planned in 1943 for twenty-one local workers to be placed in seventeen counties.²¹ Two of these counties, employing five child welfare workers, were designated areas of special need owing to defense activities there. Services were to have been provided for 91 per cent of the population, but workers had not

been secured for seven local positions as of April 29, 1943.

The Nevada plan for 1943 called for six workers to be placed in five local areas comprising 74 per cent of the population.²² Two counties were designated areas of special need because of defense projects located there. Three local positions were vacant in June, 1943, and the position of supervisor had been handled part-time by the administrative assistant of the State Board since September, 1942, when the former supervisor became an officer in the Navy.

It is evident that Child Welfare Services has felt the impact of the war through turnover in personnel. An average of 34 per cent of the total positions budgeted in Idaho, Nevada, and Utah were unfilled in April, 1943. The demand for services is increasing as communities continue to be interested and concerned in the conditions under which children are growing up. Yet it is impossible to fill many of these demands because of the shortage of personnel. War agencies, such as the United Service Organization and the American Red Cross, feel that the training and experience of child welfare workers are particularly desirable. The resulting shortage is particularly serious in defense areas where these workers are needed to develop day-care facilities for children of working mothers, prevent juvenile delinquency, provide counseling, and organize recreational projects.

SERVICES TO INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

Assistance to children's agencies and institutions was a natural development under the Child Welfare Services program. Children's workers needed and

¹⁹ Atkinson, "Child-Welfare Services," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (CCII (March, 1939), 87.

²⁰ Idaho, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2b [1943]), pp. 1-4.

²¹ Utah, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2b [1943]), pp. 1-5.

²² Nevada, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2b [1943]), pp. 1-4.

used these resources and were concerned about their conditions. As the institutions and agencies themselves came to understand their problems better, they really wanted help.

The board chairman of the Nevada State Orphans' Home requested the assistance of the State Child Welfare Services in April, 1937, following a legislative investigation of the institution. A worker was appointed June 1, 1937, to supply case-work services for the fifty children in the home and advice and consultation on methods of child care and institutional management. Where possible, children were placed with relatives or in foster-homes. Mental tests were given, when indicated, and one child with an I.Q. of 52 was placed in a private training school in California. The first worker remained until June 30, 1938, when the shortage of personnel and lack of funds combined made it temporarily impossible to continue this service. A second worker was assigned in 1940 at the request of the Board of Directors, who offered to pay one-half of the salary.²³ Later, in 1943, with the support of the management, the Orphans' Home was placed by legislative enactment under the supervision of the Board of the Nevada State Welfare Department.²⁴ Partial responsibility for this function has been delegated to the Division of Child Welfare Services. Clear-cut policies and administrative procedures have not yet been formulated, but the first step has been taken toward improving conditions at the institution.

A clinical psychologist was furnished to the Idaho State School for the Feeble-minded and Colony for Epileptics at the

request of the superintendent. Group or individual tests were given to approximately one hundred and fifty individuals in the institution. Of these, it was discovered that nineteen children and young adults were of normal or borderline intelligence.²⁵ Following these findings, the Division of Child Welfare Services employed a psychiatric social worker to develop a foster-home program for the placing of dull and dull normal children from the institution.²⁶ Fourteen children placed out have made satisfactory adjustments and have now been discharged. Since the study was made, the superintendent has requested the services of the psychologist for the testing of children before admission to the institution.

Continuous efforts have been made toward strengthening and improving the services of private agencies in Utah and Idaho. The Idaho Children's Home-finding Societies employed a trained worker for the first time following the example of the Child Welfare Services in requiring high standards for personnel. A statistician was added to the Utah child welfare staff in November, 1937, to establish a system of recording and reporting by the private agencies.²⁷ Standards to insure proper care of children coming to the attention of private agencies were drawn up by the state supervisor of Child Welfare Services in cooperation with the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Enforcement was insured under the

²³ Ethel Davis, "A Report on the Idaho State School" (prepared for the Division of Child Welfare Services, 1939), p. 2. (Typewritten.)

²⁶ Idaho, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2a [1940]), p. 2.

²⁷ Utah, "Progress Report on Child-Welfare Services for the Six-Month Period Ending December 31, 1937" (U.S.C.B.), p. 1.

²³ Nevada, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2a [1941]), p. 2.

²⁴ Nevada Laws, 1943, chap. 79.

State Department's authority to license child-placing agencies.²⁸

Assistance with regard to admission and after-care has been provided to private and public institutions in the three states. This service has been used widely with a few exceptions, such as the Nevada State Industrial School, whose superintendent has continued to parole children independently.

Services have been offered juvenile courts where regular probation officers are not available. Use of child welfare workers by the courts ranges from extensive to occasional or none at all. One Nevada judge stated that this service would be utilized to a greater extent if there were more men employed as child welfare workers. Another suggested that judges hesitate to call in young and comparatively inexperienced workers, whereas they would avail themselves of assistance from more mature workers.²⁹

Consultation has been made available to public schools. In Sevier County, Utah an effort has been made to demonstrate the need for a visiting teacher and special classes for mentally retarded children. The schools here have already been stimulated to offer remedial reading lessons.³⁰ One county worker arranged for the psychologist from the Utah State Training School to conduct several clinics for children referred by the schools, courts, and public welfare department. Following the teaching of classes in speech correction by a child welfare worker, the boards of education

in two Idaho cities employed a special teacher to continue this work. The Idaho child welfare psychologist made a series of trips into various counties of the state in co-operation with the schools to give mental tests and vocational guidance.³¹

A close relationship was early established with public health nurses in the three states. Physically handicapped children were located and referred for treatment, convalescent homes provided, and social summaries prepared. Public health nurses and child welfare workers have been mutually helpful in community organization, as in Kootenai County, Idaho, where a Health and Welfare Council was organized through co-operative effort.

In summary, the divisions of Child Welfare Services have contributed in varying degree to almost every social agency and institution in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah. The way this contribution has been made varies from state to state, and within the state, from time to time. The program makes practical use of available services. When a psychologist moved to Idaho, the Division of Child Welfare Services employed her. A legislative investigation in Nevada was made the opportunity for introducing social services at the Orphans' Home. Considerable interpretation has been necessary to secure the greatest utilization of the service by other agencies.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY INTEREST

Stimulating public concern for broad social needs has been stressed along with interpretation of the Child Welfare Services program. While community interest has been aroused most effectively

²⁸ *Utah Laws, 1937*, chap. 16.

²⁹ National Probation Association, "Delinquency and Crime Treatment in Nevada: A Statewide Study" (San Francisco: 1943), pp. 11-12. (Mimeographed.)

³⁰ Utah, "Child-Welfare Program and the Schools in Sevier County" (Utah C.W.S. 1941), p. 1. (Type-written.)

³¹ Edith A. Davis, "Clinical Psychology in the Idaho Child-Welfare Program," *The Child*, VI (March, 1942), 232.

by the worker's day-to-day contacts, lay participation has been secured also through organization of child welfare advisory committees and through inter-pretation to existing organizations.

The State Board of Relief, Work Planning and Pension Control, the State White House Conference Committee, and the Child Care Committee of the Nevada State Defense Council have each served the Nevada Child Welfare Services in an advisory capacity. The Defense Council group promoted hot-lunch projects in the schools, encouraged the development of recreational resources for children in defense areas, and conducted surveys on the need for day-care facilities. A bill for the licensing of day nurseries was sponsored by this committee but was defeated at the 1943 session of the legislature. County child welfare committees have also been active. A recreation director for one of the counties was employed as a direct outgrowth of the local committee's action.

The director of the Utah State Department of Public Welfare appointed a small advisory committee in September, 1937, to act as an interpretative body and to give technical advice to the chief of the Division of Child Welfare Services.³² A state-wide survey on the need for housekeeping services and a study of detention facilities for children in Weber County have been sponsored by the committee. As a result, a much-needed child-placing program was developed by the Division of Child Welfare Services in Weber County. The outbreak of the war made it impracticable to continue with the housekeeping project. Locally, the county boards of public welfare are used

to assist child welfare workers in an advisory capacity.

While an official state advisory committee has not been appointed for the Idaho Division of Child Welfare Services, county councils of public assistance make recommendations and offer advice to local workers. A number of service clubs and other organizations have also supported the program. In Nampa and Caldwell, when speech-correction classes were held by the child welfare worker, the Elks Club donated its clubrooms for use as classrooms. The Kiwanis Club paid for voice records so that each child had a record of his voice made when he entered the class and another when his difficulty was corrected. Transportation was provided to and from the place where the recordings were made. One member bought shoes for two of the children in the classes. The local newspaper published feature articles, and the Rotary Club appointed a committee to work on state legislation for handicapped children. They also joined the Veterans Administration in contributing funds for boarding care of children brought to Caldwell to attend classes.

Appeals for funds to help unfortunate children have awakened public interest. The child welfare worker collected monthly from thirteen sources in one Nevada county to finance care for a tuberculous child. While this, admittedly, was not making the most effective use of a trained social worker's time, it did serve the purpose of affording widespread interpretation as to the needs of children. It also pointed up the necessity of developing permanent and planned resources for meeting such needs rather than relying on the haphazard methods of the past.

Lending professional services to assist with the activities of lay groups has

³² Utah, "Progress Report on Child-Welfare Services July 1 to December 31, 1937" (U.S.C.B.), p. 1.

served to promote mutual understanding and support. The child welfare worker in Reno, Nevada, prepares social summaries about children applying for medical or dental care from Parent-Teacher Association funds. Organizations were assisted in the giving of food and gifts to the needy at Christmas by setting up a temporary social service exchange and reporting on the need for assistance. From this beginning, there has developed a permanent social service exchange in Reno for the first time.

The trend in Utah, Nevada, and Idaho has been toward co-ordinating child welfare advisory services with existing community organizations in order to unify action and to decrease duplication of numerous groups with similar objectives. Child welfare committees and other organizations have been criticized on the grounds that action is slow, few concrete results are produced, and membership is changed too frequently. Evaluation of their contributions is difficult, as accomplishments are often intangible though nonetheless real. Turnover in committee personnel results in a larger group of lay people's being reached and interested in the work. While action is often slow, it is sounder for a program to build slowly than to forge ahead faster than the community is willing to go. Under wise leadership, advisory groups serve a definite educational purpose.

PROMOTION OF LEGISLATION FOR THE CARE AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

Divisions of Child Welfare Services have played a significant part in educating the public as to the need for adequate legislation to safeguard the rights of children. This has resulted in the passage of two important laws in Nevada. One provided for the licensing of foster-homes for children by the State

Welfare Department.³³ The other made mandatory an investigation of adoptions by the State Welfare Department and a six-month trial period before adoptions may become final.³⁴ Both of these acts were urgently needed to correct conditions under which children were suffering as a result of lack of state supervision.

The Utah adoption law was amended following a survey by the Division of Child Welfare Services which revealed a large number of independent adoptive placements. The three child-placing agencies joined the State Department of Public Welfare in securing amendments, which provided (1) that the State Department make a social investigation in all cases of adoption where a child-placing agency does not give consent and (2) that a trial period of one year must elapse before an adoption may become final.³⁵

Responsibility for licensing of day nurseries was legally vested in the Utah Public Welfare Commission in 1943.³⁶ At the same time an act was passed directing the state welfare, education, and health departments to co-operate in a financial way to provide programs for the care of children of working mothers.³⁷ Surveys by the Division of Child Welfare Services in the main defense areas of the state had indicated the need for the establishment of more adequate facilities for this purpose.

Since further legislation is necessary for the care and protection of children in Idaho, a study of this subject is now being made by the Division of Child Wel-

³³ *Nevada Laws, 1939*, chap. 185.

³⁴ *Nevada Compiled Laws, 1931-41*, Vol. II, secs. 9475-86.

³⁵ *Utah Laws, 1941*, chaps. 16 and 17.

³⁶ *Utah Laws, 1943*, chap. 16.

³⁷ *Utah Laws, 1943*, chap. 17.

fare Services through funds budgeted in 1943 for the services of an attorney. For example, legislation for the licensing of foster-homes and for the supervision of adoptions by the state welfare department should be enacted. The state has been handicapped in the development of a foster-home program by a lack of funds as well as by the lack of legal authority for state licensing and supervision. The present adoption law is very lax, requiring neither a social investigation nor a trial period before an adoption takes place. It does set up two safeguards: (1) records are not open to inspection except upon order of the court and (2) a new birth certificate is made out in the names of the adopting parents.³⁸ The juvenile delinquency law provides for the licensing of child-placing agencies by the governor,³⁹ but provision should be made for delegation of this function to the state welfare agency. The Association of Probate Judges introduced in 1941 a bill to enable the courts to place the custody of dependent and neglected children with the State Department of Public Assistance, but it was defeated by a strong opposition.

Conditions requiring legal safeguards have been brought to light by child welfare workers and social legislation passed as a result. Even when proposed bills for the benefit of children have failed to pass, there has been a gain in increased community education as a result of wider study and consideration of these subjects.

EFFECT ON STATE AND COUNTY PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

Where basic welfare structure was inadequate, Child Welfare Services at-

tempted to strengthen it. The program in Nevada had already laid the groundwork and had six trained workers in the field when the State Welfare Department was created. Later, child welfare workers were loaned part-time to the Old Age Assistance program for the purpose of integrating welfare functions at the local level and in the hope that county welfare units would be organized. In the interest of combining all work for children and youth into one unit at the state level, the Division of Child Welfare Services accepted the responsibility of acting as selection agency for the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1939.

Divisions devoted to the interests of children were established within the State Department in Idaho⁴⁰ and Utah.⁴¹ At present, this division in Idaho consists only of Child Welfare Services and a small foster-home program, but it is the aim to build a strong children's program under this division. The supervisor of Child Welfare Services in Utah, at the request of the chairman of the Public Welfare Commission, prepared a plan for the consolidation of all welfare activities and institutions for children in March, 1943. Since reorganization was not complete at this writing,⁴² it was not known how much of the plan would be finally adopted.

Through the Child Welfare Services program there has evolved an acceptance of a broadening responsibility on the part of public welfare agencies. From the narrow principle that public welfare is concerned only with determination of eligibility and operation of institutions has come a wider view which sees the

³⁸ Idaho, "State Plan for C.W.S.," ("U.S.C.B Budget Series," CWS-2 (1941)), p.2.

⁴¹ Utah, State Department of Public Welfare, *Rules and Regulations* (Salt Lake City, 1937), p. 2

⁴² September, 1943.

³⁸ *Idaho Code Annotated*, 1932, secs. 31-1101-1110.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 13-309.

function of the public welfare agency as offering services to the economically independent as well as the dependent.⁴³ Table 3 shows that about one-half of the total number of children in their own homes or homes of relatives under the care of child welfare workers were not receiving any form of public assistance as of June, 1943. Particularly in connection with war-related services, such as provision of care for children of working mothers, have the public welfare departments assumed a broader responsibility for which the example was set by Child Welfare Services.

Recognizing that a service program for the care and protection of dependent and neglected children cannot fulfil its aims apart from provisions for general relief, efforts have been made to develop more adequate and inclusive public assistance. To this end, the Nevada Child Welfare Services conducted surveys in 1937 and 1939 showing the estimated number of children eligible for Aid to Dependent Children and presented this information to the legislature. Child welfare workers in Idaho and Utah have been given sole responsibility for cases under their care also receiving public assistance. The tendency has been to interpret policies liberally and to secure higher grants for these cases based on need rather than "deservingness." It was hoped that this would result in raising the general level of relief.

While it is appreciated that child-placing is but one function of a child welfare program, the Division of Child Welfare Services has worked toward the development of child-placing facilities in the county welfare departments of Utah. Prior to 1936, public responsibility for

child-placing consisted solely of subsidy of private agencies. By 1942 seven county welfare departments were authorized to place children. Authorization was restricted to those counties having child welfare workers. One hundred and twenty-five children in foster-homes were under the supervision of child welfare workers in these counties as compared to four hundred and forty under the care of private child-placing agencies.⁴⁴ Even so this represents a considerable advance

TABLE 3*

ECONOMIC STATUS OF CHILDREN IN OWN HOMES UNDER THE CARE OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES, BY STATES, JUNE, 1943

State	Total No. of Children in Homes of Parents or Relatives	No. of Children in Families Not Receiving Public Assistance	No. of Children in Families Receiving Some Type of Public Assistance
Idaho.....	269	124	145
Nevada.....	262	121	141
Utah.....	845	435	410

* Sources: Idaho, Nevada, and Utah, "Children Accepted for Service" (U.S.C.B. [1943]), Form CWS-51.

in the assumption of responsibility for child-placing by public welfare departments.

The high personnel standards of Child Welfare Services have affected public welfare development by increasing the total number of trained workers in the state. In order to obtain properly qualified workers, educational leave was granted to a number of local persons who showed promise. Seven persons were assisted with their training at a cost of \$2,080 in Nevada.⁴⁵ One of these work-

⁴⁴ Utah, State Department of Public Welfare, *Biennial Report, 1941-42*, p. 77.

⁴⁵ Nevada, "Quarterly Reports of Obligations Incurred for C.W.S. under State Plan" (U.S.C.B., 1936-43), Financial Reports CWS-11a.

⁴³ Atkinson, "Child-Welfare Work in Rural Communities," *Annals, CCXII* (November, 1940), 213.

ers is now serving as administrative assistant to the State Board.

Nineteen persons have been granted educational leave in Idaho at a cost of \$9,340.⁴⁶ Five were later employed by the Department of Public Assistance in the capacity of field supervisors. One assumed the position of director of a county welfare department, and another served as budget officer with the State Department for one year. The supervisor of the Division of Child Welfare Services acted as supervisor of social service for the department on a half-time basis for six months in 1939.⁴⁷ Local welfare departments have been strengthened also by co-operative use of personnel under which child welfare workers were employed one-half time by the Aid to Dependent Children program from January 1, 1937, to June, 1940.

The Utah Division of Child Welfare Services has furnished educational leave to twenty persons at a total cost of \$11,286. Of this sum, \$1,030 was repaid by individuals who were unable to fulfil their agreements to work one year after returning from school. Two persons aided by educational leave assumed positions as directors of county welfare departments; five as field representatives for the State Department of Public Welfare; and, one as agent for the State Department of Adult Probation and Parole. The supervisor of the first child welfare training course later became a faculty member of the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Utah.

Since Utah has traditionally subsidized its private children's agencies, they are actually of a quasi-public na-

ture. In spite of numerous studies and recommendations, the state has been reluctant to discontinue these subsidies. Staff development is, therefore, important in private children's agencies as well as in the public departments. The Division of Child Welfare Services brought in a qualified statistician who afterward served as assistant to the executive secretary of the Children's Service Society and still later as field representative for the State Department. In addition, three child welfare workers have been released to serve with the private agencies.

Because the divisions of Child Welfare Services were at first financed chiefly by federal funds, it was possible to some extent to set aside state policies with regard to residence and to bring in qualified workers. Public criticism resulted, but many of the workers so brought in by Child Welfare Services were later taken over by the other programs and thus strengthened the general public welfare staff. The Idaho program contributed the supervisor of social service and one field representative to the State Department, and the Nevada program supplied a supervising visitor to the Division of Old Age Assistance in this manner.

Regardless of the fact that it has at times practically depleted the program of its own workers, divisions of Child Welfare Services have encouraged its qualified people to accept positions with the general programs in order to develop a strong welfare organization.

By making consultation available to other workers, child welfare consultants have raised the general level of case work. Utah, in 1943, planned for three regular consultants and two consultants under War-related Services to offer supervision to county child welfare workers and consultation to other county and state staff

⁴⁶ Idaho, "Quarterly Reports of Obligations Incurred for C.W.S. under State Plan" (U.S.C.B., 1936-43), Financial Reports CWS-11a.

⁴⁷ Idaho, "State Plan for C.W.S." ("U.S.C.B. Budget Series," CWS-2a [1939]), p. 1.

members. Idaho provided for three child welfare consultants to supervise local workers and to offer consultation to other public and private agencies. In counties without child welfare workers, consultation has been made available to the probate courts, American Legion child welfare committees, county welfare workers, county and city officials, schools, church groups, and service clubs. Because of increased interest in day-care programs, provision for a nursery school consultant was included in the 1943 plan,⁴⁸ but this position has not been filled to date. Nevada has been handicapped by a lack of supervisory staff sufficient to cover the immense area. Some local offices are as far as 450 miles away from the state office. Supplementary methods of correspondence, reports, and directed reading have been found inadequate. An increased number of supervisory workers on a district basis with responsibility for all social services would be far more satisfactory than the present setup.

Extensive libraries have been built up by the divisions of Child Welfare Services in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah and made available to all public welfare workers. Conferences and institutes have been utilized as a means of developing not only the child welfare staff but the entire staff of welfare departments. Representatives of various social and civic organizations have also been invited to attend. Outstanding speakers who have been secured for these meetings include: Fred Hoehler, former director of the American Public Welfare Association; Dr. H. E. Chamberlain and Dr. David A. Young, psychiatrists; Bertha Reynolds and Lois Wildy, case-work specialists; Katharine Lenroot, Dr. Martha

Eliot, Alice Scott Nutt, Hazel Frederickson, Deborah Pentz, and Aleta Brownles, all of the United States Children's Bureau.

Efforts have been extended to furthering the development of professional social work organizations. The Idaho program stimulated the Boise Federation of Social Agencies to expand into a State Conference of Social Work. The largest group of professionally trained workers in Nevada, Idaho, and Utah have been represented by the divisions of Child Welfare Services. They have comprised the main membership of local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers.

Child Welfare Services has had a share in the establishment of optimum standards of administration. The increased efficiency of lower case loads has been demonstrated by child welfare workers who carry fifty cases each. Attempts have been made to effect more satisfactory rates of compensation for positions requiring higher qualifications under the merit system; but these have not been entirely successful, and loss of child welfare staff has been the result.

Public welfare to date has consisted in little more than public assistance and institutional support. Child Welfare Services, though far overshadowed by the great assistance programs—principally aid to the aged—has nonetheless made its influence felt in the following ways:

1. Assisting with the formation of state and local welfare agencies
2. Strengthening the organization of public welfare units
3. Drawing out state and local funds for the care and protection of children
4. Increasing the number of local units providing public social services for children
5. Granting educational leaves to develop public welfare personnel

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

6. Encouraging co-operative use of personnel to strengthen general welfare staff
7. Establishing methods of staff development
8. Bringing qualified workers into the state to improve the quality of personnel
9. Furthering the profession of social work so that improved public welfare services will result
10. Raising administrative standards of public welfare programs
11. Aiding public institutions and agencies for children by providing special services
12. Improving the quality of service offered by private children's agencies and institutions which are subsidized with public funds
13. Co-operating with schools, courts, and public health agencies to enable them to perform more adequately their functions
14. Organizing committees of lay persons for the purpose of interpreting public welfare needs and stimulating development of resources

15. Reinforcing the efforts of social, civic, religious, service, and fraternal organizations to better conditions affecting public welfare
16. Promoting legislation for the welfare of children
17. Evolving a concept of broadening responsibility for general welfare
18. Securing more adequate and inclusive public assistance

This is the answer to the challenge presented under the broad provisions of Title V, Part 3, of the Social Security Act. Both public and private welfare programs in Idaho, Nevada, and Utah have been appreciably developed, strengthened, and expanded by Child Welfare Services during the years 1936-43.

RENO, NEVADA

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NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE E.M.I.C. PROGRAM FOR WIVES AND INFANTS OF ENLISTED MEN

THE emergency maternity and infant care program for the wives and infants of servicemen is reviewed in an excellent article in the September number of *State Government*. In this article, by Dr. Martha M. Eliot of the United States Children's Bureau, which administers the program, we are told that in less than one year after funds for grants to the states were first made available by Congress, all states, territories, and the District of Columbia had "approved plans," and that during the month of June, 1944, these jurisdictions accepted applications for care of more than 47,000 servicemen's wives and infants. A total of 407,333 cases had been accepted since March, 1943. To meet the cost of care for these wives and infants, the Congress appropriated to the Children's Bureau for grants to the states a total of \$29,700,000 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944.

On the basis of an estimate of nearly five hundred thousand maternity and infant cases for the current fiscal year, the Congress has appropriated \$42,800,000 to extend this program through the fiscal year 1944-45. This means that approximately four hundred and fifty thousand wives will receive maternity care and that one out of every six babies born in the United States during this period will be given necessary medical care at birth and during the first year of life under programs developed by state health agencies and financed through federal grants.

The first state program for medical care of wives of servicemen, as Dr. Eliot reminds us, was undertaken in the state of Washington in 1941 at the request of the commanding officer of Fort Lewis and on the initiative of the state health officer, as one of the maternity-care projects developed

with the use of federal maternal and child health funds appropriated for the United States Children's Bureau to administer through the states under the Social Security Act (Title V, Part 1). During 1942 twenty-five additional projects similarly financed were undertaken by state health agencies. These projects were in response to the request for such programs by local health officers, Army and Navy officials, physicians, hospitals, and servicemen and their wives. Many of these original projects were limited to military areas, where the need was greatest. The first request to the Congress for special funds for this purpose, based on estimates from state health officers, was made in February, 1943, because the money available for grants to states for maternal and child health services had been exhausted.

This emergency federal-state program provides medical, nursing, and hospital care for wives and infants of enlisted men in the four lower pay grades of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and of Army aviation cadets. It is important that there is absolutely no "means test." It is a special service for all wives of enlisted men in the specified pay grades, which include approximately 87 per cent of the enlisted men; it is service made possible by the Congress for the purpose of relieving the enlisted men of worry as to the availability of medical care needed by their wives and infants and of uncertainty as to how the cost of care would be met.

It seems to be clear that governors, state directors of health and their staffs, and the physicians, nurses, and hospital officials participating in the program have had abundant evidence of the enthusiasm with which the enlisted men and their families have welcomed this program. That "the contribution to the morale of the armed forces is beyond question" is indicated by statements

of the surgeons general and other officials of the Army and the Navy and of other branches of the military service.

Though financed by special appropriation, the legal basis of the program, Dr. Eliot explains, is found in the provisions of Title V, Part 1, of the Social Security Act, and in the state laws providing for maternal and child health services in co-operation with the Children's Bureau and the United States Department of Labor. In accordance with the expressed intent of the Congress, the Secretary of Labor has defined the program as a wartime measure, planned for the duration of the war and a period of six months thereafter; and, in establishing regulations, the Secretary has stated that the Children's Bureau shall administer the expanded program under certain conditions set forth in the Social Security Act for maternal and child health services.

The magnitude of the program is due, of course, to the very large numbers of men in our armed forces. The fact that the Congress intended that care should be immediately available to all eligible wives and infants who wished to apply created a medical-care administrative problem without parallel in federal-state co-operative undertakings. Basic policies were established by the Children's Bureau after careful consideration of the legislative history of the program and after consultation with its medical advisory committee and with various health officials.

In administering the program, Dr. Eliot has pointed out that the Congress regards the benefits provided under this program as belonging rightfully to any eligible wife or infant; and a responsibility has been placed upon the administrative agency in approving state plans "to see that the conditions of operation of the program established in such plans" will assure the beneficiaries of the rights which Congress intended them to have.

The following general policies have therefore been formulated by the Children's Bureau:

1. Payment must be made by state health agencies directly to the individual or institution rendering the services.

2. There shall be no financial investigation or "means test" to determine eligibility as a condition for receiving any service under the program.

3. The wife of an enlisted man shall have free choice under the program of all types of available facilities and services, including private practitioners, clinics, hospitals, and other health facilities that meet the standards under the state plan for each type of service and facility.

4. The attending physician shall have the qualifications and the hospital shall meet the standards established under the state plan.

5. The attending physician, clinic, or hospital shall agree to accept payment only from the state health agencies for services rendered under the program.

6. Hospitals shall provide whatever accommodations are indicated by the patient's medical condition at the inclusive per diem rate paid by the state health agency after obtaining from the hospital a statement of operating costs.

7. Physician's services shall not be authorized if the patient or someone in behalf of the patient is to pay for hospital care, and hospital care shall not be authorized if the patient or someone in behalf of the patient is to pay the physician for medical care.

8. Individuals accepted for care under the program shall be referred to local public health agencies for public health nursing service.

9. Arrangements shall be made to use community facilities, including appropriate social and health agencies for public health nursing service.

10. Care under the program may be authorized only when similar service from some other public source is not readily available without financial investigation and without cost to the patient from the medical personnel or hospitals of the United States Army, Navy, Public Health Service, or from clinics or conferences or other services provided by or through state or local public health agencies or service available under the crippled children's programs.

Further to implement the policies and to place certain limitations on the expenditure of federal funds, the Children's Bureau defined the types of services that may be paid for under the program and established maximum rates of payment, or ceilings.

The policies which have created the most public discussion are (1) those requiring that

the program shall be a service program with payments to physician and hospital; and (2) those prohibiting the physician and hospital from charging the wife an additional amount beyond that paid by the state health agency and the wife from paying for a part of the care or supplementing the payment made by the state for services rendered in order to obtain luxury services. These policies have been discussed by the Congress. The position taken by the Congress and the Children's Bureau on these two issues is seen to be wise and fair when the policies are examined with respect to the basic purpose of the program: to relieve the servicemen of worry and uncertainty as to the availability of maternity and infant care needed by their families and as to how the cost of care is to be met, and to assure the servicemen and their wives that all needed care will be provided. "Obviously, these objectives can be realized only through a service program providing all the necessary care for a wife and infant without consideration of the ability of a serviceman or his wife or family to pay part or all of the cost of the care needed."

Attention is called to the fact that, whenever public funds are used to provide medical care, it is the usual practice to provide and pay for actual service and not to make grants of money that may or may not be so used. It is well to be reminded of the fact that the American Medical Association, in a report published in 1933 on "Medical Relations under Workmen's Compensation," recommended as one of seven major suggestions that "all expenditures for medical care should go to those who give the care." The medical profession, in establishing prepaid medical-care plans under the direction of state and local medical societies, again applied this same principle with a few exceptions, and provided for payment directly to the physicians who rendered the service. Blue Cross prepayment hospital plans in all cases provide for direct payment to the hospital for services rendered.

State E.M.I.C. plans provide not only for the service and facilities ordinarily re-

quired but also for those needed by the more seriously ill patients and for medical and surgical complications.

Dr. Eliot's article concludes with the account of administration at the state level:

It is the state's responsibility to make the service available, in accordance with the basic policies of the Children's Bureau, to all eligible wives and infants without restrictions as to place of residence, economic status, race, color, or creed. In all state health agencies the program is administered in the state division (or bureau) of maternal and child health, and in conformity with state laws, rules, and regulations governing expenditure of state funds, state and local public-health administration, and licensure of professional personnel and hospitals.

This necessitates appropriate state procedures for application for care, authorization of care, and the reporting of services that have been rendered. It is also necessary for each state to work out its own manual of administrative procedure. Each state agency negotiates with the hospitals within that state on the per diem rate to be paid and on standards of care.

Most state health agencies have established general and special advisory committees to advise them on medical and administrative policy and on professional and hospital standards.

There is an increasing use of local health departments as local administrative units for the carrying out of the emergency maternity and infant care programs. Several state health agencies have delegated to local health officers responsibility for distribution of applications, approval of applications, issuance of authorizations, and approval of requests for payment. This makes it relatively easy to plan directly with the wives for the necessary care and services, to integrate the services for dependents of servicemen with the other community maternal and child-health activities, and to maintain closer working relationships with physicians and hospitals.

Decentralization of the program operations permits the health personnel of the state agency to function more effectively in a consultative and advisory capacity and to have more time to plan for co-ordination of services and for methods of strengthening and extending health services to wives and infants.

Finally, Dr. Eliot points out that although this program has placed an additional administrative burden on state and local departments of health at a time when they are handicapped by lack of staff and the pressure of work resulting from the impact of war on local communities, state health officials are reporting to the bureau that the program has made possible some important gains in the cause of the public health. . . . For the first time many health officials are assuming responsibility for planning with citizens who lack medical-care services and who look to their official state health agency for guidance. First hand, they have heard the story of the wife who wanted the best of care for herself or infant but needed help in arranging for the care she sought. Thousands of letters pouring into state health agencies express the anxiety of these young mothers who are looking to their government for a helping hand and a guarantee of care of high quality. Many states without hospital licensure or inspection laws are glad of this opportunity to work with hospitals and advise them on standards of care. In spite of shortages in materials and manpower, hospital standards for E.M.I.C. patients in many places have been raised because of the standards for purchase of hospital care established by the state health agencies and the desire of communities to serve the families of servicemen. . . .

But most important is the service that will have been rendered by the end of 1944 to two-thirds of a million wives and infants of men who are in the armed forces of this country—and the boost in morale given to the men themselves.

This great E.M.I.C. program is a blueprint for the future, and the United States Children's Bureau, Dr. Eliot, and her advisory committee and her associates are to be congratulated on pioneer work well done.

THE BEVERIDGE REPORT MOVES FORWARD

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE presented his report in November, 1942, and the British government has at last accepted its most essential features.¹ The *Manchester*

¹ See below, pp. 550-51, for a review of the new White Paper. See also "The Beveridge Plan or the

Guardian tells us that "the country would not forgive much more delay," and adds, the White Paper was printed some months ago. Why it has been withheld from the public is something of a mystery. The explanation that has been heard in Whitehall is that it was thought advisable to get the invasion over before publishing. A public absorbed in the fortunes of the supreme military adventure would be quite unable to give the White Paper the attention it deserved, so it was argued. If that were a genuine reason it would presumably still apply.

Sir Ronald Davison, well-known authority in the field of social insurance, wrote of the new White Paper: "It may be less good than some of us hoped but it is definitely better than we feared." Sir Ronald also comments severely:

The main criticism which the Government must sustain is that it has taken nearly two years to get out its White Paper. It is believed to have been drafted over a year ago; Parliament might by this time have got to grips with the powerful insurance companies and made a big stride with actual legislation. As it is, the prospect of the public deriving any social benefit from the great plan recedes into 1946. With the war in Europe running to its close, this is going to be a grave matter. When the fighting men begin to come home and the ex-munition workers to be discharged we shall have to patch and improve our sickness and unemployment benefits in their existing separate setting and pray the new Minister of Social Insurance to get on with a bill for children's allowances as a relatively easy first instalment. The new benefits as a whole cannot possibly be ready, and there will be a muddle.

American social workers will follow with interest the various debates in Parliament on the different bills that will be necessary to place this important series of measures on the statute-books.

American Way?" in this *Review*, XVII (March, 1943), 74-80.



MORE LIGHTS GO ON IN ENGLAND

—From the Baltimore Sun

SECURITY PROGRAMS

THE following is quoted from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, October 20, 1944:

"Security!" said the Red Queen gloomily. "I just can't sleep at night for thinking about it."

"That's a very strange complaint," said Alice. "I should have thought that anything to do with security would have helped you to sleep in peace."

"It doesn't," announced the Red Queen. "I get all mixed up between International Security, which is Dumbarton Oaks, and Social Security, which is the White Paper; and my poor mind just goes round and round and round."

"Don't let it," said Alice. "Have you tried counting M.P.s going into a Division Lobby?"

"Do you understand the White Paper?" demanded the Red Queen, disregarding Alice's suggestion. "And what do you make of Dumbarton Oaks?"

"I don't understand the White Paper," said Alice cheerfully. "And I make nothing at all of Dumbarton Oaks. I haven't even tried."

"Then you're a bad citizen," declared the Red Queen. "And you don't deserve to be secure, either socially or internationally."

"I don't see how I could be with a war like this still going on," said Alice. "But anyway I do sleep at nights. And when the war is over I shall be prepared to consider security bit by bit as each piece is offered to me."

"Too late!" groaned the Red Queen. "If we don't plan for security now we shall never get it."

"My advice to you," said Alice, "is, Go to sleep and let other people do the planning. And then, after the war, if we don't like what they've planned, we'll pull it all to pieces and start all over again."

PRE-WAR JOBS FOR VETERANS

A RECENT United States Circuit Court of Appeals decision (*Kay v. General Cable Corporation*, 144 F. 2d 653) that returning veterans must be given back their pre-war jobs gives reassurance that this provision of the Selective Service Act will be used for the protection of veterans. Overruling a district court decision, Judge Kirk-

patrick said that "every consideration of fairness and justice" made it imperative that "the Selective Service Act of 1940 be construed as liberally as possible so that military service shall entail no hardship on the returning soldier." The principle that veterans should get their old jobs back applies, the Court ruled, "even where the substitute has done better work."

Some other similar cases are reported to be before the courts, so that this decision is timely. In this case a physician who before he entered the army was medical director with the General Cable Company was refused reinstatement in his old position after he had been honorably discharged. The company asserted that since he had a small private practice and therefore had other work, he was not an "employee" in the usual meaning of the word and therefore was not covered by the Act. The Court held, however, that the policy of the Act was that "the obligations and privileges of military training and service should be shared generally in accordance with a fair and just system. . . ." And the Court said that "every consideration of fairness and justice makes it imperative that the Statute should be construed as liberally as possible so that military service should entail no greater setback in the private pursuit or career of the returning soldier than is unavoidable."

The Court said that, even if the defendant's contention were accepted and there would be "some loss of efficiency and possibly some additional expense involved," more than that was needed "to justify refusal to reinstate a person within the protection of the Act." "Unreasonable," the Court said, "means more than inconvenient or undesirable. The defendant's argument upon this point, if carried to its necessary conclusion, would defeat the main purpose of the Act and would limit its operation to merely capricious or arbitrary refusals. Men and women returning from military service find themselves, in countless cases, in competition for jobs with persons who have been filling them in their absence. Handicapped, as they are bound to be by prolonged ab-

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sence, such competition is not part of a fair and just system, and the intention was to eliminate it as far as reasonably possible. The Act intends that the employee should be restored to his position even though he has been temporarily replaced by a substitute who has been able, either by greater efficiency or by a more acceptable personality. . . ."

Judge Kirkpatrick's decision has recognized not only the letter but the spirit of this provision of the Selective Service Act, which provided that after discharge from military service a man had forty days—later extended by Congress from forty to ninety days—in which to reclaim his pre-war job. His seniority in that job was to be protected for one year.

The purpose of the provision is to make sure that the veterans will get jobs as well as cheers when they return. The position of the returning veteran is much more secure than was the case after the last war, in spite of the fact that the present war has lasted so much longer. Now the veteran has legal protection, and he has the help of the United States Employment Service. Apparently his right to his old job can also be maintained by court action.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING IN OUR DEMOCRACY?

COMPULSORY military service as a legacy of the greatest war in history is an issue that must be faced by social workers as well as educators in the near future. This ominous question was not discussed during the recent presidential campaign, although several bills providing for peacetime conscription had been introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives, and important members of the administration had expressed their approval of a system of compulsory military training after the present war. Both political parties apparently wished to sidestep the issue and to wait until the election was over before taking any action. But this will soon be a widely discussed political issue, and those with special

responsibility for youth programs must give this subject careful consideration. Various proposals made after the last war were defeated by public opinion in favor of our traditional American opposition to militarism in peacetime. This opposition was strengthened by the belief that the war of 1917-18 had really been a "war to end war." If there was not to be a new war, why take a year out of the lives of all the young men of the country for military training? Other reasons given in the Congress in 1920 against peacetime conscription included the excessive cost and burden of the resulting taxation; the fact that the United States would be committed to a policy of militarism similar to that which had developed in Germany under the Kaiser; the fact that the American effort in World War I had not been delayed by lack of trained soldiers despite the popular assumption to the contrary (it was alleged that the delay was actually in the obtaining of equipment); that military training, like battleships and other material preparation, becomes obsolete rapidly and consequently "unlearning and relearning" processes would be necessary if and when war returned; that the manpower loss might be keenly felt on the farms even more than in the factories; and that an efficient and voluntary system of physical education carried on locally would produce a much stronger population with a more resourceful spirit if defense were needed in the future. But now, in 1944, the same question arises once more: Are we to assume that the peace that is to come is not to be secure and permanent but only an interim period to be used in preparation for the next war?

An excellent article of interest to many social workers appeared early this fall in the *New York Times Magazine* (October 22, 1944). This article by Leonard W. Mayo, dean of the Western Reserve School of Social Work, president of the Child Welfare League of America, and chairman of the National Commission on Children in War-Time, looks at the question from the point of view of parents and educators with an

appreciation of the importance of a year in the life of young men of eighteen.¹

Mr. Mayo replies briefly to various arguments that have been made in support of military training. Very briefly, these may be summarized as follows:

1. It is urged that compulsory military service is needed to assure national security, in order that we may not "be caught unaware again if another gangster nation should rise to power in the next twenty years." To this, Mr. Mayo replies by pointing out that a year of orthodox military training per se is small protection against such a possibility and that "the events of the last five years have revealed that education in both the specific and general sense is a powerful weapon against the recurrence of war and world strife." That is, a year of "health-building, well-disciplined educational activity" would, Mr. Mayo thinks, help us to provide national security "with an important plus."

Katharine Lenroot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, is quoted as making the suggestion that it may be determined after careful study of our defense needs that the use of one or two summer vacations devoted to intensive military training on the part of our young men would suffice. Even if such a plan were adopted, the argument for making these months count in the full educational sense of the word would obtain, as Miss Lenroot makes clear.

2. To the argument that compulsory military training will "give our young men something they miss in our public school system," Mr. Mayo grants that there is now a lack of adequate physical education and training in our schools, but he thinks "it is inconceivable that a year of military service could take the place of, or make up for the

¹ "A year out of the life of your son or mine is no small matter, and hence the use of that year should be weighed with all the judgment and knowledge at our command. . . . Full knowledge that what happens to a young man in the vital year between high school and college is crucial in influencing our national security and our position in world leadership."

role of, the school, or indeed the home and other community institutions, in the organization and maintenance of a sound health program." While it is true that the draft statistics show that a large number of eighteen-year-old boys were rejected because of physical inadequacies, most of this "bore mute testimony to a long history of undernourishment, neglect, uncorrected defects and lack of follow-up of early physical examinations. Any physician will testify that the early years of childhood are the really vital years in establishing health and the habits upon which good health is based." Mr. Mayo thinks, therefore, that the argument that we need compulsory military training to

perform a function which should be performed far better than is now the case by our schools and other institutions of society, including certain branches of the Government, is fallacious. It is unsound, among other reasons, because it smacks too much of the expensive American habit of setting up a new organization when a courageous revitalizing of an old one is really called for and because it might well delay the vigorous promotion of a well-rounded physical and health program for children below the teenage period.

One of the gravest dangers inherent in compulsory military service, Mr. Mayo thinks, is that "we may come to assume, gradually and unconsciously, that such a program will relieve us as parents, teachers, and citizens, of the duties that we should perform in behalf of our youth through normal community channels." If we need compulsory military training for reasons of national security, Mr. Mayo says emphatically, "well and good—let's do the best job we can with it, but by all that's decent and democratic let's not promote it as a physical education and health program for America's youth. And let us not relinquish our efforts one whit in seeing to it that the school carries its full share of this responsibility."

3. This same point, Mr. Mayo suggests, may be applied with equal force to the third argument that has been advanced: "We

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need military training to teach youth the meaning of discipline" and "a year of compulsory military training, after high school and before college, will give us men who have stability of character."

Without attempting a discussion of character development and the growth of personality, Mr. Mayo points out that all competent studies on this subject are clear on certain fundamental points:

Some of these may be briefly summarized by the statement that the main roots of character are embedded deeply in prenatal, and natal, family and other environmental influences, and that, by and large, basic character patterns are fairly well established by 17 or 18 years of age. This does not imply for an instant that a year of healthful and purposeful activity under strict but fair discipline is of no value. On the contrary. It does say, however, that the influences and experiences to which a child is subjected in his early years are vastly more influential in determining character than any one year in the teen-age period.

That is, Mr. Mayo thinks that, although to some extent we may be "lax in our homes and schools in matters of discipline," he is "opposed to the suggestion, implied or otherwise, that we should resort to a year of compulsory military training as a solution to that problem. The more we depend upon extraneous agencies or individuals to perform a function which rightfully and properly belongs to the home, the school and the church the more we will continue to do so."

Another important aspect of the whole question is, as Mr. Mayo points out, that not all the results of military training are on the constructive side.

If you have read letters from some of the boys in our training camps or talked frankly with them, or if you have had experience in any branch of the service, you know this is no exaggeration. It is inevitable that some destructive influences should be present in spite of all that the military authorities can do, and they do a lot. But it is naïve to assume that compulsory military training can be expected necessarily to build or "stabilize" character. The main purpose of military training, as such, is to teach

men to fight and kill. That is its reason for being and that is why I do not want it unless it is absolutely essential. By and large, the factors that make for full and successful personality and character development are much more likely to be found in an atmosphere of reasonable freedom and lack of restraint where constructive activity abounds.

Finally, Mr. Mayo says very wisely that we must "scrutinize with utmost care, not only the proposals concerning military service but the national and international policies on which such proposals are based. We must insist on knowing for what military purposes our youth thus trained would be used, in so far as that is known or contemplated in advance."

This excellent article will be interesting and useful to every social worker who is fortunate enough to read it.

CHILD LABOR'S "LONG ROAD"

A PUBLICATION of interest is the National Child Labor Committee's *Fortieth Anniversary Report*,¹ which reviews the "long road" of attempts at legislation in one state after another, the long series of defeats, and the relatively limited gains. After 1912 the Child Labor Committee had the powerful help of the United States Children's Bureau, and there was the hope that federal child labor legislation might break the long, slow method of "island hopping" from one state legislature to another. But the way of federal legislation proved to be the long road of constitutional amendment, and success seemed to lie beyond a very distant horizon. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 once more shortened the long road by means of federal legislation. The great success of this act has been discussed many times in this *Review*, and Beatrice McConnell's article in the current issue is the latest chapter in the story of the long effort to prevent child labor.

¹ *The Long Road: Fortieth Anniversary Report of the National Child Labor Committee* (Publication 390). Gertrude Folks Zimand, General Secretary. New York, October, 1944. Pp. 56.

POSTWAR PUBLIC WELFARE MERIT SYSTEMS

THE monthly journal of the American Public Welfare Association (*Public Welfare*, November, 1944) contains the following excellent statement prepared and approved by the A.P.W.A. Personnel Committee. The Committee points out the changes that have been necessary in the administration of merit systems and suggests that

the exigencies of war have served to handicap the sound operation of such systems by limiting the sources of personnel, by requiring the suspension of permanent appointments and the expedient by-passing of many of the ordinary safeguards to the maintenance of the merit principles.

It is pointed out that successful public welfare administration rests in large part on the availability and use of qualified personnel. Since civil service is a means of securing such personnel, the Committee thinks the postwar period should bring renewed "emphasis on the basic principles which guarantee that merit shall govern the selection and retention of personnel in public welfare programs."

This report, which will be helpful to many administrators, is particularly constructive with regard to the difficult problem of the employment of veterans.

Indorsing recommendations made by the Committee on Veteran Employment Policies of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the report contains a series of eighteen recommendations regarding reinstatement of former employees, veterans' preference policies, and general administrative policies of public personnel agencies relating to veterans. Looking at the employment of veterans in the field of public welfare from the point of view of continuing sound public welfare administration as well as the interests of the veterans themselves in entering and returning to government employment, the following are some of the conclusions presented:

Public welfare administrators endorse that type of veterans' preference which will contribute to the placement of veterans in public service on a basis of demonstrated qualification. They further believe that preference to veterans can be offered without violence to the essential principle of civil service, and join with the veterans' organizations in the view that it would be a disservice to veterans to allow them to be placed in positions for which they may not be qualified. They further urge that the fullest use of educational opportunities through governmental benefits should be made by returning veterans whose interest lies in seeking a career service in the public welfare field.

Veterans' preference policies that may be adopted should recognize the democratic principle of open competition for public employment on the basis of merit and fitness, and should not by their terms or operations serve to exclude unduly the rising generation from its rightful opportunity for public employment. . . .

Experience gained in military service should be properly evaluated and considered in determining the qualifications of candidates for positions to which such experience is relevant.

Training and education received through official military agencies should be properly evaluated and recognized in giving credit toward civil service eligibility and in rating education and experience. . . .

Programs of instruction given during or after military service designed to equip veterans for public service careers should be given legislative support and administrative recognition.

Public personnel agencies should seek to integrate their own facilities with those of officially designated veteran facilities in their respective jurisdictions to promote efficiency in veteran placement, training, counseling, rehabilitation, and other similar aids to veterans.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL

THE loss of trained and experienced personnel has been one of the most serious current problems of public agency administration, particularly in the so-called public assistance agencies. A useful article¹ with

¹ By John Charnow and Saul Kaplan in *Social Security Bulletin*, VII (July, 1944), 20-28. The article is based on data on personnel gathered by the Social Security Board from thirty-nine public as-

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some over-all statistical data on this subject in the *Social Security Bulletin* repays a careful examination.

An estimated forty-five thousand persons were employed by state and local public assistance agencies in June, 1943, in giving financial assistance to about four million persons. About 86 per cent worked in local offices, while 14 per cent were employed in state central or district offices. The number of employees in individual states varied, but three-fourths of the states had less than one thousand employees and about one-half had less than five hundred. Five states, on the other hand, with about one-third of the public assistance cases, had about 40 per cent of all employees.

Employees are classified in two broad groups: social workers of all ranks and clerical and other workers. Unfortunately, no data are available as to the education, training, and experience of these so-called social workers. The so-called social-work group of 25,600 persons comprised 56 per cent of all employees—a proportion that held true in the individual agency. Directors carrying case loads outnumbered those who did not, indicating that the majority of local offices in the country are small. The proportion of executives and social workers in the local offices (six out of every ten employees), more than double that in the state offices, and the working staff constituted 84 per cent of the local professional staff.

For every 100 social-work employees, local offices employed 54 clerks; in almost half the agencies the ratio was between 40 and 60. During the first six months in 1943 about one-third of the employees either left the public assistance agencies or were newly hired. Out of every 100 employees, 19 left and 15 were added; the net loss was thus 4 per 100 employees. This does not seem high, but serious destruction of agency operations can occur even though the net loss in num-

ber of employees is negligible. A constantly shifting staff means serious administrative problems in instruction, training, adjustment, and general staff morale.

Fortunately, the agency case loads were going down during the period in "general public assistance" and also, to some extent, in the so-called categories. The separation rate for clerical employees was 26 per 100 employees; for social workers the rate was 15 per 100. Accession rates were lower than separation rates, resulting in most agencies in a net loss in the total number of employees. An additional measure of the acuteness of the problem of staffing agencies is the number of vacancies—unfilled positions which the agencies intend to fill and for which they have funds. About 7 out of every 100 positions were vacant in June, 1943. Of the estimated 3,300 vacant positions, about 86 per cent were in the local offices; the other 14 were in state offices. The distribution of vacancies between state and local offices was therefore the same as that of employees. There were relatively more vacancies in social work than in clerical positions. Out of every 100 social work positions, 8 were vacant as compared with 5.5 out of every 100 clerical and other positions. It is clear that the turnover and loss of staff is more definitely felt in the small local office where each professional worker, including the director, carries a case load. The very heavy clerical loss must throw a heavy burden upon the remaining clerical staff but the burden will weigh heaviest upon the social work staff if it is called upon to assume clerical duties in addition to its own increased work.

On the average a visitor carried 192 cases in June, 1943. The number of assistance cases per visitor was between 150 and 200 in 12 of the reporting agencies and 200 to 250 in 15 agencies. The range was from 59 to 388. The kind of program administered by the agency may also influence the number of cases per visitor. In 15 agencies administering the categoric and general assistance, the median case load was 163. The number of cases per visitor ranged from 105

sistance agencies in thirty-five states for the half-year ended June 30, 1943. The above summary of this article is by Carol K. Goldstein, fieldwork instructor, School of Social Service Administration.

to 230. In 13 agencies administering only the categories, the median load was 215, with a range from 158 to 378. The old age cases influenced the proportion between the two groups of agencies. Oddly enough, the article reminds the reader that agencies emphasizing individualization in the process of establishing eligibility and economic needs are likely to have comparatively low visitors' case load. The average load in June, 1943, was lower than it had been six months earlier because of the decline in total case loads and because, in general, cases declined more than the number of visitors. In the median agency the decline was 9 cases per worker, and in no instance did it exceed 25 cases per worker. Visitors usually work on a combination of so-called assistance programs, but the actual proportion per category per load is not given. The case-worker's time is converted into full-time equivalent for individual programs, and according to this conversion the case load per full-time worker in June, 1943, in the median agency was 235 old age cases, 152 blind cases, 115 aid to dependent children cases, and 91 general assistance cases. The average number of applications per visitor in June, 1943, was 10 in the median agency and between 5 and 15 in three-fourths of the reporting agencies.

This carefully prepared article will be interesting to those concerned with the work of the public assistance agencies.

EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED WORKERS

THAT "industry has hired considerable numbers of physically impaired workers primarily because of acute wartime manpower shortage" is the statement made in a short article in the October issue of the *Labor Information Bulletin*. The consensus among three hundred employers reporting to the United States Department of Labor was that physically impaired workers—when suitable placements are made—are as efficient as unimpaired workers; their absenteeism, injury frequency, and labor turnover records are generally superior.

The following summary from this article, which is of interest to social workers, is quoted below:

Some jobs are performed better by impaired workers than by unimpaired, such as sorting bolts, rivets, etc., by the blind and employing deaf workers in extremely noisy shops. Chief problem is decreased flexibility of manufacturing processes due to difficulty of transferring impaired workers between jobs. Employment of impaired workers is limited in heavy or hazardous work.

Where a small plant considers an elaborate personnel department too costly physical requirements of each job can still be analyzed, and applicants examined by a competent industrial physician to supply necessary information to place the impaired satisfactorily. Many of the larger plants use job analysis in the proper placement of impaired workers. Eighty-seven per cent of the 63,382 impaired workers employed in these establishments were reported to be just as efficient as the unimpaired doing similar work, and the 8 per cent reported as more efficient outweighed the 5 per cent reported as less efficient.

While 44 per cent of the impaired workers were reported as having an absentee record no worse than their fellow workers, 49 per cent had better records. Only 7 per cent were absent more than the unimpaired. According to the reports, the physically handicapped workers generally experienced fewer accidents, for 38 per cent were reported as having just as good an accident record, and 51 per cent a better record than the workers without disabilities; 11 per cent had a higher injury-frequency rate. Similarly, job changes were less frequent among them, with 31 per cent reported as having a turn-over record comparable to that of the unimpaired and 58 per cent a better record. A higher rate of turn-over was reported for 11 per cent of these workers.

Frequently advanced as a reason for the better absenteeism and labor turn-over records of the impaired workers is the fact that, as a general rule, the handicapped worker has found it much more difficult to get a job than his more fortunate fellow worker and therefore exerts greater efforts to keep it. Further, he is anxious to prove to himself and to others that he is as good as, or better than, his unimpaired fellow worker.

Manufacturing plants in all parts of the country reported that they were utilizing workers with physical impairments. About 46 per cent of all these workers were employed in the highly industrialized East North Central area; more than half were working in plants employing 10,000 or more persons.

A majority of the employers stated emphatically that selective placement is the key to their satisfactory employment. Difficulty in transfers from one job to another and in upgrading were reported by some manufacturers employing relatively large numbers of physically handicapped. Special in-service training facilities have been provided in an attempt to solve these problems. The necessity of flexibility in the manufacturing process was cited by a few manufacturers as limiting the number of physically impaired employees that could be utilized.

Some companies are so concerned with the problem of placing returning veterans that they are conducting surveys of the men who have left their plants for military service, to determine the new skills acquired and the type of work each man desires to engage in upon his return. Analyzing these replies, together with past records of the men, the employers are earmarking at least three jobs for each returning veteran. One of these jobs is being selected on the supposition that the veteran may return disabled.

In the cities in which two of these companies are situated, finding jobs for the handicapped has been made a community responsibility. Every device has been used to create an awareness among employers of the employability of such persons. Some leaders in the field believe that community interest is one answer to the employment of the physically disabled.

The results so far show that impaired persons have been hired in appreciable numbers, especially in critical labor-market areas and in industries engaged most directly in essential war work. Many of these workers probably will be out of jobs when this work ceases. The position of the handicapped worker may be further weakened by the return of the disabled veterans of World War II who must be absorbed into industry. In order that existing prejudices may be met and overcome and that the performance of impaired workers at jobs at which their disabilities are no handicaps, may be appreciated fully, it is essential that a body of factual, objective data be made available.

WAR DEPARTMENT CREATES CORRECTION DIVISION

A CORRECTION division in the office of the adjutant general has recently been established to co-ordinate and standardize the rehabilitation and control of all military prisoners. Incidentally it should be explained that military prisoners are not to be confused with prisoners of war who are under the jurisdiction of the provost marshal general. Military prisoners are those who have been convicted of offenses under the Articles of War.

The new correction division has staff jurisdiction over the Army's disciplinary barracks, rehabilitation center, post stockades and guardhouses, as well as installations for the detention and rehabilitation of general and garrison prisoners in overseas theaters of operation.

Austin H. MacCormick, consultant to the undersecretary of war and executive director of the Osborne Association, Inc., assisted in developing and establishing the new organization, and Colonel Marion Rushton, administrative officer in the office of the undersecretary of war, has been named director of the division.

"The mission of each detention and rehabilitation establishment," said the Undersecretary of War in commenting on the newly created correction division, "is to restore to honorable status in the Army those prisoners who demonstrate their fitness for further service, and to provide those to be discharged because of their unfitness a program of training which will help them to meet more successfully the duties and obligations of good citizens." The Undersecretary continued:

All prisoners believed at the time of sentence to be reclaimable are sent to rehabilitation centers. Prisoners suffering from mental or neurological disorders, as well as intractable offenders and those convicted of the more serious offenses, are committed to the disciplinary barracks or one of the federal prisons. At each place of confinement the individual capacities, skills, potentialities, and needs of the prisoner are studied. Those considered to be restorable engage in a

program of intensive military training designed to meet the demands of military service. Upon restoration, each soldier is classified and assigned to duty according to his previous experience and military skills.

At present the War Department operates ten institutions for general prisoners in the United States, including two maximum-security and two medium-security disciplinary barracks, and six rehabilitation centers. Two additional medium-security disciplinary barracks have been planned. Military personnel with successful civilian experience in correctional work are being assigned in increasing numbers in the institutions and at headquarters. All this is an encouraging sign of progress in the correction field.

A board of consultants to assist the correction division in setting and maintaining high standards includes some well-known civilian authorities in the correctional field. The new board includes Austin H. McCormick and the following: Sanford Bates, New York State Division of Parole; James V. Bennett, Federal Bureau of Prisons; Edward R. Cass, American Prison Association; Warden Walter A. Hunter and Reed Cozart, associate warden, of Leavenworth Penitentiary; William J. Ellis, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies; Dr. Garrett Heyns, Michigan State Department of Corrections; Richard A. McGee, California State Department of Corrections; and Warden Joseph Sanford, United States Penitentiary, Atlanta.

WHAT A NEGRO SOLDIER THINKS ABOUT

THE following letter from a Negro Army Sergeant to the editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* appeared in that newspaper on September 2. Since this continues the discussion in the last issue of this *Review*, parts of this letter are published here. We believe that our readers are concerned about this subject:

Since enlisting in the Army in 1942, I have been stationed at three different posts, and have

come in contact with many other colored soldiers from the different sections of our country. As a cadremen and instructor, I helped to train some of these men, most of whom are now in various theaters of active operation. . . .

We all were inducted into or enlisted in the armed forces to subdue the ruthless enemies of our country, and to eliminate the loathesome foes of democracy and freedom. . . . We know what it means to be an oppressed people, bounded in by many unjust restrictions; therefore we fight that liberty and freedom of all mankind may forever exist.

During our bitter struggles to accomplish the foregoing goals, we have encountered much bloodshed and suffering. Some of this has been by the hands of our own countrymen who have tried to deny us the very things for which our country fights—the Four Freedoms.

Those saboteurs on the home front who discriminate against us and our people in industry, and those in our armed forces who try to create confusion and hatred between the white and colored troops, by limiting our opportunities for advancement and by perpetuating evil discriminations, are viewed by us as Nazis at heart, shielded by the cloak of American citizenship.

But we fight on to accomplish our military goals and to defeat our military enemies. . . .

Now we are beginning to think about the peace, the home front and the day when we shall return victoriously from the fields of battle. To what kind of American home front shall we return?

Will it be a front on which democracy will have triumphed as well as it will have triumphed on the military fronts abroad? Or will it be one on which selfishness, greed for wealth and the recent prosperity enjoyed during the war have made the home folk forget, and have blinded them to the unimaginable suffering of human beings, and to the cause for which we fought?

Shall we return to a country of which a great section still will be fighting the ghost of the Civil War, by denying us our rights to live as free men and free citizens? Or shall we return to a country in which every citizen is treated as a citizen, and where merit, not race, is the basis for opportunities and advancements?

Shall we return to a land where lynchers of Negroes may commit their horrible atrocities and then roam at will with little or no fear of be-

ing apprehended? Or shall we return to a land where all are afforded equal protection and justice by the law?

Shall we return to a country where every citizen, regardless of race, is afforded equal opportunities for training and education?

Or shall we return to a land where many thousands of us will be publicly robbed of our rights as citizens to vote?

These are the questions we are asking ourselves. These are the questions the American people must sincerely answer.

We have heard the famous quotation "with liberty and justice for all" time and time again. We have seen it in print often. Political speakers have uttered it vigorously over radio networks and before clamoring throngs. Too many say these words enthusiastically, but in their hearts they mean liberty and justice for all but the Negro.

As the score stands at present, regardless of the Negro's qualifications, he is flatly denied equal opportunities for economic advancement in practically all sections of our country. In a great majority of the cases, his low wage prevents him from adequately training and educating his children. Even when he does become fortunate enough to prepare his children or himself for certain skilled occupations, he finds the doors of opportunity closed.

Then, in his grave situation, he is forced to accept some menial task, while his white brother soars ahead, with no unjust limitation upon the advancements which he may attain. . . .

Except in the gutter positions, it has almost become a rule for the colored man to be the last hired and the first fired. Too often, he is forced by economic discrimination to perform at low wages the labor and domestic services for the families of the "bosses." Too often his children are denied adequate family relationship and home training, because his wife is too busy performing the housework of the boss' wife. She must do so in order to help her low-paid husband support their family.

Thus, the Negro housewife, to a great extent, is unable to help the public school teachers educate her children. Nevertheless, if any of these colored children become of age and fail to exhibit public conduct that is approved by society, unfair generalizations are made in regard to the race itself. . . .

When we return victoriously from the wreck-

age and the war-torn lands abroad, we wish no special favors, but as American citizens we want to be able to say, with exaltation and sincerity: Yes, this is America—mighty America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Yes, this is the land where "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

SGT. WARREN T. BRUNSON

FORT LEONARD WOOD, MO.

THE GRACE ABBOTT FELLOWSHIP IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

ANNOUNCEMENT FOR 1945-46

A PUBLIC welfare fellowship is again offered by the national Delta Gamma fraternity in honor of the public services of Grace Abbott, who was a member of Delta Gamma when she was a student at the University of Nebraska. This fellowship of one thousand dollars for the academic year 1945-46 is open to any woman graduate of an accredited college or university and may be used at any accredited school of social work; but it is restricted to candidates who have been employed in the public welfare services and who plan to return to the public service. The fellowship will be awarded in May, 1945, by a committee of Delta Gamma, including Mrs. Arthur H. Vandenberg, chairman, of Washington, D.C., and Grand Rapids, Michigan; Miss Blanche Garten, secretary, Lincoln, Nebraska; Mrs. Joseph Bingham, *ex officio*, president of Delta Gamma, Palo Alto, California; Edith Abbott, the University of Chicago; Mrs. George Bowerman, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde, Alderson, West Virginia; Mrs. Payson Treat, Palo Alto; and Mrs. Florence H. Blanchard, corresponding secretary. Miss Mildred Arnold, of the United States Children's Bureau, and Miss Agnes Van Driel, of the Public Assistance

Bureau of the Social Security Board, will again serve as consultants for the committee in making the award for 1945-46. *Application blanks may be obtained from Mrs. Blanchard, 2573 Van Dorn Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.* Applications should be filed before April 15, 1945.

IN MEMORIAM

CLIFFORD W. BARNES, 1864-1944

CLIFFORD W. BARNES was one of the long-time leaders of much that was good in the life of Chicago. As a young graduate of Yale University he had joined Jane Addams at Hull-House, where he was one of the earliest residents. For more than fifty years he was active in the civic, social, educational, and religious affairs in the metropolitan area that is Chicago. He helped to organize the Illinois Legislative Voters' League; the Subscriptions Investigating Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce for the indorsement of charities; the Committee of Fifteen, a militant organization for the suppression of commercialized vice; and the Chicago Community Trust. Of the latter he had served continuously as chairman since its organization in 1915, helping to develop it to a philanthropic foundation of more than ten million dollars, the largest of the community trusts. He also helped organize the Council of Social Agencies and the Community Fund of Chicago, serving continuously on their boards. He was a founder of the unique Chicago Sunday Evening Club, of which he was president and director from its beginning to the day of his death. His gracious and kindly presence has for so long been a part of the work of so many social enterprises that Chicago will greatly miss his leadership.

GEORGE LOUDEN, 1912-44

OLD friends in Chicago heard with sincere regret of the death of George Loudon, one of the promising social workers in the younger group, who was recently killed when he was thrown from a truck into a slough along Glacier Road in Juneau, Alaska. A graduate of Earlham College, George Loudon was first employed in the Old Age Assistance Program in his native state of Pennsylvania. After he took the degree of Master of Arts at the School of Social Service Administration he went to the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, and later became a district supervisor for the Social Security Board. At the time of his death he had just been assigned to some work connected with resettlement in the Aleutians. His old friends at the Lincoln Centre Settlement, where he lived in Chicago, and those who knew him at the University of Chicago deeply regret the loss of an intelligent, hard-working, conscientious social worker who would have given outstanding service in the long future.

MARY IRENE ATKINSON MEMORIAL

AN EDITORIAL committee headed by Cheney Jones of Boston is preparing a volume of appropriate abstracts from Mary Irene Atkinson's writings, which will be assembled in a book to be made available to young people in colleges, schools of social work, and social agencies. A large committee has assumed the responsibility of this expression of the high regard in which Mary Irene Atkinson was held by her many friends and professional associates. Kathryn Welch, of the United States Children's Bureau, is representing the Atkinson Memorial Fund.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bureaucrat. By JOHN H. CRIDER. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1944. Pp. 373. \$3.00.

Some forty years ago this reviewer had, for several hours in a quiet New England study, the privilege of being seen but not heard while an able Washington correspondent discussed with a cultured philosopher, the correspondent's brother, developments in Washington under Roosevelt I. That experience led to the reviewer's spending the greater part of his working life in Washington, though as chance determined, in research and statistics in the governmental and social field and not in journalism. Nothing in the reviewer's life has ever caused him to revise the high value he has attached to the evidence, observations, and reflections of the able Washington correspondent, who brings to the unique opportunities presented by his task a rich background of history—political, economic, and social.

John H. Crider, member of the first class of the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia, went after graduation to the *New York Times*. For years he has been a member of its Washington Bureau, covering the major economic, social, and political developments. He found opportunity, however, for graduate study in political science at Columbia, and in 1941 he was chosen a Nieman Fellow at Harvard. There he worked with experts in government administration at the Littauer School and also made an extensive study of the compatibility of certain new economic concepts with the American concept of democracy. This book is based on the whole of that rich experience.

His book does not follow any such traditional academic pattern as presenting his studied analysis of the problem of the bureaucrat, a statement of the author's thesis, and the marshaling of selected, highly condensed evidence in support of that thesis. In this book it would seem that analysis and thesis have been used primarily as devices to determine what particular actions and activities of the government were to be selected to be presented in considerable detail, not only occasionally with a helpful amount of broad historical background but also occasionally with telling flashes regarding the characters in the actions—the kind of flashes the newspaper correspondents put in and, per-

haps unfortunately for the reader, academicians so frequently leave out. The subjects selected cover a wide range. With most of them the author has had to deal in his work for the *New York Times*. In the field of administration one encounters the current issues on personnel administration, organization and reorganization, administrative legislation, and adjudication, although the author does not apply the terminology of academic public administrators. There are, too, specimen descriptions of selected organizations, such for example as "O.P.A. Prize Mushroom." So many significant things are at least touched upon that the reader who wants to refresh his mind as to what the author said on a particular point will be glad the book is indexed.

Those disciples of the New Deal who are inclined to dismiss all criticism of the administration as motivated by hatred may not be able to read the book, although one gets the very distinct impression that the author's criticism of hidebound conservatives would have been equally trenchant had they been in power. Experience does not suggest that the Washington correspondents, as a group, are given to idolatry. The late Joseph Eastman is the one administrator to whom Mr. Crider devotes substantial space and speaks of in highest terms, an appraisal which is widely accepted in Washington. He does, however, recognize others who do not succumb to the bureaucratic itch for permanence and power.

The author's concluding chapter presents "The Fundamental Issue." "The real issue," he says, "is between democracy and collectivism." One paragraph from the preceding chapter and three from the concluding chapter will give the point of view.

Wrong in the capitalistic world has not been the profit motive, but the lust for power. Possession of the means for a decent living, or even some wealth, has not corrupted men. It was the man who loved power for power's sake who caused most of the trouble. Of course, wealth sometimes provided the platform from which such a man could operate, building wealth and power together. What the collectivist overlooks is that ending private ownership will not end the lust for power. Indeed, the man with a power mania might do even better as a bureaucrat in a collectivist society than as a capitalist or manager in a capitalistic society.

Under the conditions existing in a large modern, industrial state, almost the only way¹ collectivism could be effected would be by force. So to impose a system upon a people would not be democratic, no matter how benevolent the purpose of those in power. It appears that Americans, in view of their tradition of freedom, would not knowingly embrace collectivism, but might, in an overpowering desire for state-guaranteed economic security, be led to trade their traditional liberty for merely materialistic considerations. The distinction between co-operation and collectivism should be emphasized. We should strive for enlightened co-operation, as distinguished from enforced (totalitarian) co-operation, in our social life.

A realistic approach to the problem of developing social co-operation must recognize that the competitive has always existed alongside the co-operational tendencies of man, and that he has lived and progressed through exercise of both of these qualities. Therefore, the planner cannot simply deny the existence of competitive instincts, but must fit them into the future scheme of things. He must utilize them constructively or they will persist, undirected, to destroy his whole social edifice.

The very serious question also arises whether any social arrangement which eliminates the need for struggle—that is, for the exercise of man's competitive qualities—would not detrimentally affect the whole man, rendering him a rather vapid person capable of no great contributions to his own betterment. If we would avoid a totally planned society and retain our liberties we must fight stratification of our society, keeping it fluid, so that the little man may become big, and the big man never so big that he cannot fall.

LEWIS MERIAM

*Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.*

The Economics of Demobilization. By E. JAY HOWENSTINE, JR. Introduction by ALVIN H. HANSEN. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. Pp. 336. \$3.75.

This timely volume presents a balanced descriptive analysis of demobilization as it was carried out following World War I, with a comparison of the demobilization problems that this country will face at the close of World War II. It is "must" reading for all postwar planners, especially congressmen. Social workers will find much interesting material here, too, because after all the social planning for the postwar era, if it is to be worth anything, must be done by persons who have an understanding of the

economic forces which are operating and some knowledge of what happened last time.

The author charges that the inflation of World War I, the persisting high cost of living for over two years after the war, and the sharp depression of 1920-22 were due to the early inaction and the later stumbling and bumbling on the part of President Wilson and the rebellious Republican Congress. The signing of the armistice came so suddenly that the administration's complete absence of plans led to a rapid demobilization of the army from 4,000,000 to 150,000, an almost immediate termination of all war contracts, the prompt abandonment of all wartime restrictions on civilian production, credit expansion, priorities and price controls, and the scrapping of all wartime machinery, such as the war industries board, the war labor board, and even the public employment service. Wilson expected that if the natural economic forces were free to operate, the whole economy would be back to normal after a short but sharp period of chaotic adjustment. But the expected adjustment did not occur. The war-inflated prices not only refused to drop but continued to rise; buyers waited for the expected fall in prices, and so business was stagnant; unemployment became widespread, and the cost of living remained twice its pre-war level and even continued its upward climb; organized labor opened an unsuccessful campaign for increased wages, which led to a series of nation-wide strikes; the public, growing angry over the continued high cost of living and the lack of purchasing power, first blamed it on business and industrial interests because of war-profiteering, but the press and the business interests succeeded quickly in diverting this public outcry from themselves to organized labor, which was then engaged in industry-wide strikes; this enabled the business and industrial leaders to administer crushing defeats to the strikers from which organized labor did not recover until the middle 1930's. The charges of communism and radicalism worked so effectively last time that it is small wonder that they are being revived now.

That prices did not fall despite unemployment, general stagnation of business, and the absence of governmental props is explained by the artificial and probably illegal price-fixing agreements effected by the large corporations, holding companies, inter-locking directorates, and trade agreements. Most of these same business interests, while making these agreements,

were inconsistently loud in their demands that government follow a hands-off policy so that the "natural forces" could operate. Wilson should have known that inaction on the part of the government alone would not spell free markets. Howenstine believes that the basic error of the demobilization last time was the "failure of the people and their leaders to clarify their attitudes on the issue of whether to institute a system of complete economic controls or whether to depend exclusively on a policy of laissez faire to achieve necessary postwar readjustment." The result would have been vastly more salutary had either policy been adopted and pursued consistently.

When Wilson saw that his policy of inaction was leading to chaos, he made a series of ineffective, contradictory, and confusing administrative efforts, the results of which were only harmful. While the treasury department was conducting a vigorous liberty-loan drive to mop up savings and reduce competition for the inadequate supplies of civilian goods, the Council of National Defense was conducting an equally vigorous campaign of "buy now" in order to get the wheels of production rolling again. While several agencies were attempting to secure reductions in prices, the Federal Reserve discount rate was such as to make credit easy and therefore to encourage further inflation. Professor Howenstine says that "the outstanding characteristic of the demobilization program was the blundering inadequacy of a series of planless, contradictory, and improvised policies." "The entire demobilization period," he asserts, "saw a continuous succession of crises, not one of which was squarely met with sound economic planning." Finally the accumulated "unremedied stresses and strains led to the depression of 1920-22, and thereby brought about adjustments that human intelligence had failed to accomplish."

This sorry story leaves none of the principal characters blameless. Wilson and the executive branch first espoused the policy of laissez faire in so far as government participation and guidance in demobilization was concerned, but later made things worse by a group of conflicting and confusing programs.

Social workers will perhaps be most interested in the account of the creation of the Employment Service in the Department of Labor on January 3, 1918, to assist in the mobilization of manpower for war purposes. Just a year later, in the midst of the demobilization, Congress

effectively killed the service by refusing to appropriate funds to keep it operating even until July 1, 1919. Some private funds were raised to support it on a restricted basis, until October 3, 1919, when all offices were closed because of lack of funds.

Compared with the last war, the demobilization problem at the close of the present conflict will be in most respects enormously more difficult. For example, instead of four million men in the armed services, we now have approximately twelve million. Whereas the last war absorbed about 30 per cent of the nation's production, the present war takes between 60 and 70 per cent. The maximum monthly expenditures for war purposes in the last war were \$2,000,000,000 as compared with the present \$8,000,000,000 per month. Whereas the United States was an active participant in the last war for the brief period of eighteen months, we have already been in the present war almost three years. Because of the country's enlarged manpower and because of technological improvements, this nation must somehow plan jobs for some twelve to fifteen million more workers than in the year 1940.

Dr. Howenstine concludes his study with a "blueprint for demobilization" after the present war based upon the lessons which we should have learned from the experience of 1918-1920. The objectives should be threefold: "full employment, a favorable environment for the expansion of free enterprise, and social security." In general he supports the Keynes-Hanson theory that private enterprise should be encouraged and helped to provide full employment, but that government should stand by, ready and able to supplement as needed with large scale public works and with social security programs. He favors quick demobilization of the men and women in the armed services as soon as they are no longer needed for war purposes. Britain's experience in 1919, he believes, indicates the folly of trying to release military personnel in accordance with industrial needs and the availability of civilian jobs. Contract cancellation and conversion to peace production should also be brought about with all possible speed once the war is over and demobilization begins. "All contracts, except those near completion and those needed for continued military operations, ought to be cancelled at once," with the payment of a generous cash allowance up to 75 per cent of the completed value of the completed contract "in order to

provide contractors and subcontractors with working capital to finance conversion." A large shelf of public works projects should be ready to give work to the unemployed during the period of reconversion. A flexible tax policy should be maintained, retaining wartime taxes during the first year of peace with a gradual shift "from lower to upper income classes in order to build up consuming power, reduce savings and pay off the debt." The social insurances must be enlarged to cover the whole working population and their families, extended to include sickness insurance, medical care, and family allowances, and the benefit schedules liberalized. Both unemployment compensation and workmens' compensation should be federalized. In disposing of government-owned plants, the "guiding principle to be followed is restoration of competition wherever possible, and in other cases the setting up of adequate safeguards of consumer interests through governmental regulation." Governmental surpluses should be used wherever possible to meet deficiencies in civilian consumers' supplies. Finally, there should be created "a strong central directive agency by the federal government to integrate the policies of all federal agencies engaged in demobilizing the war economy."

The tragic mistakes of 1918-19 must not be repeated at the end of the present conflict, because the results are certain to be vastly more serious than before since the economy is more fully involved in the war.

ALTON A. LINFORD

*Simmons College
School of Social Work*

New Horizons in Criminology. By HARRY ELMER BARNES and NEGLEY K. TEETERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943. Pp. xxvi+1069. \$4.50.

This is an elaborate and scholarly synthesis of present-day knowledge of the nature of crime and the treatment of criminals. The material is carefully and competently organized into forty chapters grouped into seven major divisions. Enumeration of the subjects and fields covered is unnecessary; it is sufficient to describe the book as comprehending the usual materials and data to be found in any of the standard texts on criminology, with the distinction being made that herein there are two noteworthy variations: (1) unusual attention is given to the his-

torical approach, which is gratifyingly complete; and (2) most topics are treated in a more thorough and detailed manner than is customary.

This is a book of encyclopedic proportions; as such, it has the expected susceptibility to criticisms as to "grave" omissions and as to "unnecessary" inclusions, but, on the whole, sound selection is characteristic. The authors have used standard sources, adequately documented, and excellent judgment is shown in the use of quotations and in the choice of illustrations. There is an extensive Bibliography and a well-arranged, useful Index. Occasional statements seem overly dramatic, but these are not sufficiently numerous to mar the general effect. A section on the white-collar criminal is perhaps more in the realm of speculation than the authors would care to admit, but certainly there is a place for discussion of this phenomenon, even though little is known about it.

Now and again the authors inject the "free will" issue,¹ a straw man with which Dr. Barnes has jousted for many years. There is no reason here to do more than to point out that the oft-repudiated punishment concept in dealing with criminals cannot be attributed to the doctrine of freedom of the will, unless the will be conceived of as operating in a vacuum—which it does not; of course, rational believers in free will regard modern treatment concepts as a logical consequence of the nature of man.

Social workers will find this book a useful addition to their libraries. Among recent efforts in this field it is unique in its acceptance of social case work as a necessary and valuable adjunct to treatment programs; in addition, the authors have an adequate understanding of the functions of social workers in treatment situations. One is inclined to consider this significant evidence of the care with which the authors undertook their task, and to the reviewer this appears to be characteristic of a thoroughly competent piece of work.

FRANK T. FLYNN

University of Notre Dame

¹ Readers interested in the subject will find a stimulating discussion of the question in recent issues of *Federal Probation*: Rev. John Edward Coogan, S. J., "Some Criminologists and Free Will," VII (October-December, 1943), 12-15; Harry Elmer Barnes, "Free Will vs. Determinism: Another View," VIII (April-June, 1944), 31-34; and Marshall E. Jones, "Freedom of the Will and the Treatment of Crime," VIII (July-September, 1944), 33-36.

Foster Home Care for Mental Patients. By HESTER B. CRUTCHER. New York: Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1944. Pp. vi+199. \$2.00.

This is a book which gives a comprehensive picture of a vital and new development in the treatment of mental patients. The foster-home care plan as set forth by Miss Crutcher is another major step forward in rehabilitating state-hospital and state-school patients so that they may live and profit in a community where they will lead as normal a life as possible.

Institutional care which heretofore has been given to patients needing continuous treatment—for some as long as forty or fifty years—has resulted in a “loss in human values as well as the economic loss.” Foster-home care as a contrast to this is a means for placing carefully selected patients in homes where they can live as members of a family, make a real place for themselves in the homes, help with the work, and perhaps even participate in the life of the community. Miss Crutcher points out that patients who have been so placed are happier and occasionally improve to an extent that they may be partially or completely self-supporting. In a small number of cases therapeutic results not even anticipated have been accomplished. Moreover, this plan releases hospital space for other patients needing specialized care and for those from whom the community needs protection. And it has been found that the cost for patients placed in family care is less than the cost for complete hospital maintenance.

From her wide experience in developing foster-home care for mental patients in New York State and from her study of similar procedures in Europe Miss Crutcher has outlined some valuable suggestions as to practical methods to be used in a program of foster-home care.

Patients with all types of mental disease except those acutely ill, mentally or physically, or so deteriorated as to need constant physical care may be placed in foster-homes. “The diagnosis is not so important as the personality and general adjustment of the patient.” Great care must be used in the selection of homes. Successful treatment usually depends on the personalities of the caretakers. Communities must be carefully prepared and educated to having mentally ill persons placed in their midst, and often the patients themselves who are making a good adjustment in the communities contribute toward this education.

Using family care for therapeutic purposes requires intensive case work. This involves the careful preparation of the patient for the change from institutional living to family life, and the interpretation to the caretaker of the patient's needs. An attempt is made to place patients in homes where they will make the best adjustment. One home might be of little value to one patient and yet to another bring immediate results.

The supervision of the patient must be in the hands of qualified people.

The number of patients receiving foster-home care in the United States is small. In the nine states which are using some such plan at the present time, an average range from one to three per hundred patients have received this treatment.

Suggested costs for family care as based on actual experience are noted. All point to the saving to the taxpayer if this method rather than continuous institutional care is used.

The colony system as contrasted to the district plan, and the possibilities of their uses are described in detail for help in planning for the future development of family care in the United States.

The book could readily be used as a reference book for this new development in psychiatric work, so complete is its discussion of types of patients to be placed, the kinds of homes suitable, and administration costs. More important than this, it points out repeatedly that a family-care program can be a real force in conserving human values. The book closes with certain case histories provocative in their implications of what foster-home care can do in the future in the psychiatric field.

Professional persons will want to read the book for its concrete suggestions and help. The lay person will enjoy reading the book as a means to greater understanding of possibilities for rehabilitation of mental patients.

MARGARET M. PLATNER

*Illinois Department of Public Welfare
Mental Hygiene Division*

Doll Play of Pilagá Indian Children. By JULES and ZUNIA HENRY. New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc., 1944. Pp. xiii+133. \$3.00.

In this monograph the authors report the results of their observations of the behavior of Pilagá Indian children when these children were presented with dolls for play. There was an attempt to keep the situation within experimental limits, by observing only the free play of the children without the direction of question or suggestion. The authors lived in the community in similar condition to that of the other members; spoke their language and also spent much time in the children's homes conversing and observing. The children, on their part, were allowed free access to the Henrys' house and were constantly about, playing, climbing on laps, and eternally watching them. The adults of the community were also constant visitors.

Throughout the discussion of procedures and information gained through observation, the authors constantly compare their own study with that of David Levy on American children—psychiatric patients—which he discussed in his monograph *Sibling Rivalry*. There were various differences in procedures and findings. The differences in findings were explained as due to the differences in culture which would be expected. However, it is obvious that differences would also occur as a result of the technical differences. The Henrys' method did not control the children's free play by the interjection of questions and statements from the observer which occurred in the studies of David Levy. By his questions and permissive comments, Levy obviously directed the child's expressions into certain channels and repressed other activity which might have occurred in a freer situation similar to that used in the Henrys' study. The dolls of both studies represented the family constellation of the children to be observed. The Henrys used as play material a dark-brown mother doll, seven inches in length with arms and legs slightly bent so that it could sit but not stand; an eight-inch father doll, which was the "amputation doll" of David Levy's experiments; several "child" dolls, a white "baby" doll which could sit but not stand, two white "older sibling" dolls made of china with rigid legs and movable arms. Scissors, plastiline, and a mechanical turtle on a revolving wheel were also available for play. The turtle's movements could be controlled by a string. The first child who played with it made it bite the doll symbolizing the child's rival, and from there on the experimenters presented it as a biting animal. They presented the human dolls to each child by the names of the various

members of his family. In the monograph there is no reason given for the particular choice of the types of dolls or for the addition of some and not other play material. To the reviewer, these dolls make a bizarre array for experimental material; some dolls jointed, some rigid, some which could be put in the sitting position but not in the standing position, etc. There seemed no reason for the choice or for the lack of similarity to each other and to human forms, particularly since it is quite possible to obtain dolls without the distortions from which the Henrys' dolls suffered. One would wish that the experimenters had explained the purpose back of their choice, for the variations were bound to introduce artificial factors into the attempt to duplicate the child's family situation which are not discussed in the observational material, and for which no controls appeared in the description of the experiments.

The data obtained from these experiments disclosed in general a preoccupation with typical activities in the families of the community which were familiar to the children. With marked frequency sexual activity, including coitus, between various members of the family was acted out by the children in their doll play. In the community life children witnessed coitus frequently and acted it out among themselves, so that this type of play was obviously similar in the Pilagá culture to "playing house" in our culture. It probably represented imitation rather than a deep psychological conflict which coitus play among civilized children frequently expresses. Of equal importance to the sex play, sibling rivalry was also a main subject for the use of the dolls and was expressed in direct hostile attacks upon the various sibling substitutes. As different from the sibling hostility expressed by Dr. Levy's children, the Pilagá children did not indulge in restitutive activity or self-punishment as a direct and necessary sequel of the hostile behavior. Like the sex play, this difference is easily understood by the cultural differences. In our culture sibling hostility is taboo. In the Pilagá community it is not only acceptable but is encouraged by the behavior of the adults.

The authors do not attempt to theorize upon the meaning of their data, but it is sufficiently challenging to hope that a further publication may discuss the facts so adequately presented here. Certain obvious conclusions are presented, such as, that there are no behavior problems among these children because activities con-

sidered as problems in our culture are considered normal by the adults of the Pilagá group, and that prohibitions are so minor for the children that very little psychic repression occurs. However, there is much material in the experimental data and in the description of the life-situations of these children to explain the type of character development found among Pilagá adults. Although the reviewer is tempted to digress into a theoretical discussion of this rich material, it is wiser to refrain in the hope that the authors plan a second volume to that purpose.

MARGARET W. GERARD, M.D.

Chicago

A Functional Approach to Family Case Work.

Edited by JESSIE TAFT. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. ix+208. \$2.50.

For several years the Pennsylvania School of Social Work has been formulating its particular point of view in a series of publications first known as the "Journal of Social Work Process" and later the "Social Work Process Series." These volumes have attempted to set forth the philosophy and method of what is known as "functional" case work, and in this latest publication they have come to grips with its application to the field covered by family agencies. Some will question the exclusion from this volume of the work of public welfare agencies, but justification for this seems to lie in this particular philosophy, which sees agency function as the controlling factor in case-work practice, as well as the fact that it was covered in an earlier volume, *Method and Skill in Public Assistance*.

The case-work philosophy on which these publications are based has made a significant contribution to present-day practice; the expression of it as the sum total of case-work method, however, is a highly controversial matter, and this volume will do little to reconcile the differences. In form it is a collection of papers, with an Introduction by Dr. Taft, who is also the editor. This Introduction and the paper by Grace Marcus entitled, "The Relation of Casework Help to Personality Change," constitute a theoretical statement of the point of view which is augmented by the questions raised in Elizabeth Dexter's article on "Problems of the Private Family Agency in War-time" and in the closing discussion of two cases

by Dr. Robinson. Illustrative material on case-work method is contained in several other papers, citing cases from family agencies, a Red Cross Home Service Chapter, and a Refugee Service.

Granting that the authors have set themselves a difficult task in a field with as much flexibility and tradition as that of the private family agencies, it does not seem too much to ask that the advocates of a "functional" point of view arrive at a definition of family agency function more clear cut and satisfactory than that already formulated in the field at large. This, however, does not appear to have been accomplished, and some readers may be left with a frustrated feeling that the term "agency function" has been used as part of a formula without an exact statement of what it represents, with a resultant gap in the argument somewhat confusing to the uninitiated. Indeed, one is led to the conclusion that agency function is as individual in this point of view as in any other, or as described in the book, limited to a statement of resources the agency has at its command. Nevertheless, Miss Dexter's paper is of particular interest in that it raises certain pertinent questions about the development of new services with which family agencies are at present concerned; it is perhaps significant, however, that the deviation in her thinking does not seem as great as she would have it and that indisputable answers have not come out of the new point of view. Miss Dexter is concerned because family agencies have taken on new war-time services, sometimes by the loan of staff to other agencies. She is also critical of the fact that family agencies have not interpreted themselves widely enough to prevent the development of other family counseling services, and she implies that both difficulties arise from the failure to state a function clearly. This fluidity of function is perhaps more disturbing to those who wish to rest their skill on a very rigid framework, and it seems possible that some of the "confusion" in the family field has other roots than that of lack of definition. Miss Dexter fails to note that the private family agencies have built a continuing and growing strength on a philosophy which has as its solid core a belief in serving where the need arises and on a fluid periphery which has allowed it to expand and contract in various directions as our social and economic problems have changed.

Perhaps the definition of agency function is not the primary concern of the advocates of

this school of thought, however, since the actual emphasis seems to lie in the interplay between the agency and the client produced by the use of limitation in agency function as it is handled by the worker. Miss Marcus expresses this in a highly philosophical article, in which she sets off the conscious ego as an entity in itself and suggests that the struggle to preserve itself is the primary medium of case-work practice. Implicit in the concept that this struggle of the "self" to solve reality problems within the framework of an agency's stated policies constitutes the limit of case work, is a denial of the more classical concept of treatment of attitudes as a goal in itself. The narrow limits within which this concept operates in case work is described by Miss Robinson as "the setting up of services of a tangible nature with such clarity that in the mere use of them the client will achieve the change he seeks." The components of this formula seem to be the will of the client to seek a change, the struggle to do it within limits set by the agency, and the method (clarity) used by the worker in bringing the client and agency services together. That the offering of tangible services by whatever method and with whatever response constitutes the sole function of the family agency seems particularly questionable in a society which is increasingly oriented to the intangibles of human adjustment and a perspective on the dynamics of human behavior. One is therefore somewhat reassured to see that Miss Dexter's statement of the case-work process includes "counseling" as differentiated from the offering of tangible services. "Counseling" or case work which maintains a respect for the individual strengths of the client and employs a judicious pointing up of reality in various forms, is inherent in all good present-day practice. Perhaps because of this, one occasionally gets an impression that some of the authors in the book are fencing at windmills on these points; the essential difference seems to be between the assumption that these are the only techniques case work can effectively use and the recognition that they are part of an approach which also takes into account the history of the problem, the direction of the dominant affect, and a perspective on the total personality of the client in relation to his problem.

The criticisms of this school of thought are familiar, i.e., that it is unscientific, partial, does not effect any fundamental change, etc.; they are anticipated and dealt with by Dr. Taft in

her Introduction. Dr. Taft also recognizes without defensiveness that this "technique can become an escape from helping and is frequently so utilized by beginning students and unqualified workers." The cases themselves point up clearly specific differences in practice and will be of particular interest to the practicing case worker. Most apparent is the lack of diagnostic perspective so that at no point is there a formulation of the kind of person the worker is dealing with. A happy trust that the client will mobilize himself because of the worker's presentation of agency "function" or resources pervades these records, and in the cases cited, at least, there are happy endings to substantiate this. A differently oriented reader, however, may wonder what was operating in the personality structure of this particular individual that gave him strength to proceed, whether this is true of all individuals, and what happens to those less adequate who cannot respond to this particular approach. It is not expected that anyone presenting a point of view will cite unsuccessful cases. There is, however, in the lack of analysis of personality material and in the reliance on formula something which might raise a question as to how one proceeds in the development of skill or what the growth of potentialities are for this school of thought.

The assumption that the only dynamic of interest to the case worker is that of reaction to change and limitation is paralleled by the not entirely clear assumption that either all individuals' reaction to this basic theme are within certain limits or that those whose reactions are outside of these limits are not within the province of family case work. One would like to see further discussion of this, particularly in the field of family case work, where community concern has traditionally extended to all forms of family difficulty. The family case worker has always experimented with different approaches to different people, with a deep sense of her responsibility to help the weak and inadequate, as well as those whose main difficulty is the pressure of circumstances. Clearer understanding of effectiveness has emerged in the last few years, and the "functional" school of thought has made its contribution in this. There is still need to find better ways of helping those who cannot respond to the as yet imperfect tools we have, and the family case worker who is not "functional" has learned to base her approach on the needs of the client, using every concept at her command to guide her. The assumption

that there is only one way in which she can think about the client and one area in which he can respond seems limiting, not only in individual cases but to growth and understanding in the profession.

Nevertheless, this is a stimulating book, and one from which its most violent dissenter may take something to enrich his own practice. It is in the pragmatic tradition of family case work to develop skill by scrutiny of new knowledge and experimentation with new methods, and the impact of this point of view has already been felt to some extent. For those who do not accept this as the desirable end of all case work, there will be many questions provoked, and some of these will be healthy. For those who do, this should be a satisfying illustration of an argument well presented and substantiated by case material which is at least convincing in its outcome.

JEANETTE HANFORD

United Charities of Chicago

Social Security. Edited by WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Published for the Fabian Society by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1943. Pp. 447. 15s.

Although this book was begun more than a year before the Beveridge Report appeared, its importance derives in part from the fact that the Report has put the whole subject of social insurance in the field of practical politics. Delays in carrying out the original plan of the book led to its replanning "after Beveridge." In its published form, therefore, Part One is called "The Present," and Part Two, "The Future."

Dr. Robson's Introduction, called "Present Principles," is a scholar's survey of the field—the historical background and the gradual development of the various methods of providing Social Security. In the last twenty or thirty years he finds that there has been a marked change "in the moral and intellectual climate" as compared with that of the Victorian era. And this change, he thinks, has been due

to the rise of the social sciences, to the pioneering work of the great social investigators such as Booth, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and Rowntree, to the Fabian Society and the Labour Movement generally. . . . This change in outlook has affected not only the better-off and privileged sections of society, but also to an even greater extent the working classes

themselves. They have ceased to feel guilty of the deadly sins of poverty and insolvency.

Dr. Robson's "final verdict" is that the social security schemes were "introduced experimentally and have somehow never developed into maturity. Their faults were not corrected nor their virtues encouraged. They have remained in a state of arrested development attended by the usual evils associated with that condition."

The inadequacy of the old health insurance program, Dr. Robson thinks, is due to the Approved Society system, which led to "the continuance of Health Insurance on the primitive lines on which it originated, and retarded development into something better." This point he thinks requires special emphasis, because "whereas all the other pension and insurance schemes have developed considerably during the past thirty years, National Health Insurance has virtually stood still. It has rested, not on its laurels, but on the bleak outlines of its original plan . . . during all these years there has been a failure to consider the essential purposes which a national health insurance system should serve, or the extent to which those purposes are served by the present scheme."

Dr. Robson therefore thinks that "the time has come when the whole range of services should be recast, brought up to date, organized on consistent principles and placed in a definite relationship with one another." The machinery of central and local administration should be improved, and constructive ideas developed to improve the whole system.

Following Dr. Robson's introduction, are eleven chapters by different writers, including a review of the present poor relief or public assistance policies and separate chapters dealing with the Assistance Board, Workmen's Compensation, Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, and Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Insurance, Blind Welfare, War Pensions, Superannuation, Industrial Assurance, and the "Finance of the Social Services."

Part Two, "The Future," includes four chapters, three of which are by the two able Clarkes (R. W. B. Clarke and Joan Simeon Clarke) and one by Dr. D. Stark Murray on a "National Medical Service." The appendixes include the "Memorandum of Evidence submitted by the Fabian Society to the Beveridge Committee" and a Select Bibliography.

Mr. Clarke's careful review of the Beveridge proposals with his chapter on "Social Security

Housekeeping" will help many readers to see their way clearly through some difficult economic problems. His realistic examination of the policy of equal contributions from all insured persons "in effect a poll tax" and therefore "highly regressive in its incidence" nevertheless regards this system as "an established and acceptable form of taxation." From the point of view of expediency he may be right in thinking that "it would be unwise to abandon revenue from a freely accepted but regressive tax in favor of one which is socially more just but less acceptable." His argument seems to be that the inequities of the system of equal "contributions" regardless of great inequalities in earnings have been endured so long that the injustice has become acceptable. And he suggests that "working people understand the contribu-

tion better than they understand the income tax as applied to weekly wages."

There is an important chapter by Mrs. Joan Simeon Clarke on "The Staff Problem." Since Mrs. Clarke's work for her Cambridge A. B. was followed by social service training both in London and in the United States, she writes with an appreciation of what the well-trained staff member who is at the end of "the long transmission belt carrying social policy from Whitehall to the private citizen" is able to contribute, and her last chapter is full of important recommendations.

A volume like this is a means of promoting an informed public discussion of some of the most important and urgent questions of the present day.

E. A.

BRIEF NOTICES

Journey through Chaos. By AGNES E. MEYER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944. Pp. 388. \$3.00.

This book, like *State of the Nation*, is an attempt to show what the war years have done to war workers and their environment. Although she lacks the Dos Passos skill as a writer, Mrs. Meyer is nevertheless a sensitive and thoughtful social reporter, who offers to stay-at-homes a welcome opportunity to check the Dos Passos findings. Essentially, she and he tell the same story and justify the same conclusions: that social workers have their postwar job cut out for them.

Mrs. Meyer's thesis is that the war has precipitated millions of Americans into social chaos. It is not only that the families upon whom the nation depends for its war production (at Willow Run, for instance) live like animals. It is not only that the chief sufferers are the children, whose so-called "delinquency" is merely the other side—more sensational but perhaps less disquieting—of their lack of the facilities which civilized communities provide for youngsters as a matter of course. It is not only that century-old data on the exploitation of child labor are being re-enacted from one end of the country to the other. These, she sees, are merely symptoms—along with inadequate housing, inequitable distribution of our food supply, and inadequate medical care, along with the return of open prostitution and the multiplication of honky-tonks. The disease itself is our demonstrated incapacity, at this stage in the development of our social conscience, to put first things (the war) first without forgetting to put second things second, our complete abdication of responsibility for taking thought for tomorrow, and the breakdown of our collective conscience about standards of social decency.

To the nation Mrs. Meyer says in effect, "Shame!" And to the nation's government she says in effect: Your bungling and mismanagement are everywhere regarded as responsible for the pass we are in.

Mrs. Meyer's specific remedies for the symptoms include better welfare organization on all three levels of government; federal and state aid to communities for improving educational, recreational, and welfare services; and wider use of trained social workers. What she would do about the disease itself—the hardening of the nation's collective conscience—she does not say.

KATHERINE A. KENDALL

The Public Welfare Directory, 1944. Edited by RALPH E. SPEAR. Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1944. Pp. vii+247. \$1.50.

This is the fifth annual *Public Welfare Directory*, and like the earlier volumes it will be warmly welcomed. Its announced objective "to facilitate correspondence among public welfare agencies" explains why those who use it are "urged to keep in mind as they consult it the types of correspondence with which public welfare agencies should not be burdened, as well as the proper procedure to be followed in the sending of necessary requests for information."

Two of the wartime public assistance programs—Civilian War Assistance and Aid to Aliens of Enemy Nationality—are omitted. These services are in general administered on the local level by the agencies in charge of O.A.A. Reimbursement for these types of financial assistance is made by the federal government.

One international agency (U.N.R.R.A.) is followed by a series of federal agencies, beginning with the Federal Security Agency. This is followed by welfare agencies of the states, territories, and possessions, and then by the Canadian provincial agencies.

It is easy to suggest that some agencies that are omitted might have been included. It is not clear, for example, why the Illinois Department of Public Safety, which administers the correctional institutions, is omitted, since similar departments for New York and Massachusetts are included. Nor is it clear why the Department of Health and the Department of Education are included for some states and not for others where these departments also seem to be charged with welfare responsibilities. However, there is not yet general agreement about the definition of the term "public welfare." Ralph Spear, the editor, says in his introductory note that "the implied definition of the area of public welfare service which the selection of agencies suggests has been arrived at more with a view to practical use than to a theoretically sound delineation of the scope of public welfare. On the state level an attempt has been made to include the functions commonly associated with state public welfare agencies together with certain other programs which are closely related." The result is a very compact, attractive directory, even if it is not all inclusive.

The volume includes a useful introductory note on "Interstate Correspondence Procedures," by Louis E. Hosch (now Lieutenant Hosch of Civil Affairs), consultant on interstate problems. There are also some useful appendices, including a tabular statement regarding legal settlement requirements as of February 1, 1944.

The *Directory* continues to be an indispensable office manual.

E. A.

Handbook for Army Wives and Mothers. By CATHERINE REDMOND. Washington, D.C.: Infantry Journal Penguin Books, 1944. Pp. 252. \$0.25.

This *Handbook*, prepared by an associate editor of the *Infantry Journal*, is a useful guide for women who have a soldier in the war. Throughout the book there is a wholesome recognition of the problems of women in wartime, and suggestions are offered which will help the woman in her relationship both with her own soldier and with the community in which she lives.

The book contains a discussion of woman's place in the morale of the fighting man, her life alone during wartime, and the additional responsibilities which will fall upon her. There is adequate material dealing with the problems of traveling, living near an Army camp, writing soldiers, safeguarding military information, and factors to be considered in undertaking volunteer activities, a job in industry, or joining a branch of the Service. The material on

the composition and administration of the Army and the discussion of military etiquette may not be of interest to most soldiers' wives. A greater emphasis may have been placed on the effects of wartime on children and the responsibility of women, helping women to adjust to returning servicemen, and the role of social agencies in assisting soldiers' families.

Although written in popular style, this passage indicates the insight shown by the author: "You now have the full burden of family responsibility which was your husband's. He may have had misgivings about this and may even be secretly jealous of the authority he had to turn over. You can help him a lot by not showing too much independence. You may even take over his job but you must never let him feel that he has been displaced, that he has lost in any way his position as provider and head of the family." This book can be of value to women with men in military service and to social workers who may be called upon to offer assistance to these women.

PVT. NATHAN HURVITZ

Angel in Top Hat. By ZULMA STEELE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. 319. \$3.50.

The story of energetic Henry Bergh (1813-1888) of New York, who at fifty-three founded the first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, is good reading. The son of a prosperous shipyard owner, and a man of wealth, he chose to devote himself to the cause of sick or abused horses, dogs, cattle, even turtles. Any ill-treated animal was sure of his protection. He was ridiculed for his zeal, and his ideas were sometimes ineffective in the courtroom; but the reforms he advocated were eventually transformed into law, and public opinion enforced them. People also looked to this agency to protect children; and, in 1875, nine years after the Society was founded, a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was established. Mr. Bergh believed that a divided interest could benefit neither organization, and the new Society went forward under the leadership of his friend, Elbridge Gerry.

This is a vivid account of his work and times. The New York he knew wagered on the pit dog and the fighting cock and welcomed no interference with its ways or amusements. The book is a testimonial to Mr. Bergh's stand in the face of odds.

C. G.

American Policy toward Palestine. By CARL J. FRIEDRICH. Published under the Auspices of the American Council of Public Affairs. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944. Pp. 106. \$1.00, paper.

This is one of the many expressions of widespread current interest in the position Palestine

is to have in the new order. Nearly half this small volume is devoted to documentary evidence plus an unusually full and comprehensive Index. There are brief chapters dealing with "Wilson and the Balfour Declaration," which stated that the British government viewed with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people without prejudice to the non-Jewish communities in Palestine or to the rights of Jews in any other country; with a resolution adopted by the United States Congress in 1922 declaring that the United States favored the establishment of such a home; with a convention to which the United States and Britain adhered in 1924; with the indifference shown during the years 1924-33 by the United States; with the coming of the Nazis, with the White Paper of 1939 having substantially prepared for a Munich pact and the relation of that pact to the war; and with the question of America's future policy. It is the belief of the author that "while such a policy runs counter to present British policy toward Palestine and the Jewish National Home, it is more than likely that a firm American stand, if diplomatically presented, would mobilize liberal British opinion. . . . As in so many other fields of international policy, so here the issue is not between nations, but between emerging world democracy and the forces of reaction and special interest." It is the hope of the author, however, that if the measures indicated are carried out, "Palestine might well become a Jewish Commonwealth in the same sense that it would be a self-governing country with an established Jewish majority as the preponderant factor in the future development. It is assumed of course that constitutional guarantees will be provided, insuring equal rights for all sections of the population. It is also assumed that such a self-governing Palestine, when established, will be linked with a larger supra-national organization which will not deprive Palestine of its freedom but will associate it with a wider international democratic structure."

S. P. B.

Encyclopedia of Child Guidance. Edited by RALPH B. WINN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943. Pp. xvi+456. \$7.50.

This *Encyclopedia* contains approximately two hundred items significant in the child development and child guidance field. The seventy-four contributors include child study experts, educators, family counselors, pediatricians, psychologists, and psychiatrists. The selection of subjects covers among other groupings behavior symptoms, behavior mechanisms, learning disabilities, psychiatric and psychological terms, mental testing and other diagnostic techniques, treatment measures, educational measures, children's interests and activities, social welfare problems and measures. Some idea of the scope of subjects covered is indicated in noting the

range from ability and adoption to war effects and wishful thinking; from behavior problems and Binet test to vocational guidance and visual arts tests; from case history and castration complex to unconscious and types of personality; from dance and daydreams to temper tantrums and thinking.

The discussions vary in length as well as in substance. They are uneven in that some subjects have been prepared by appropriate specialists, whereas others seem to have been less suitably assigned. Some authors have supplemented their work with helpful bibliographies, where some have not indicated other authorities. In discussing behavior manifestations, some authors have attempted a comprehensive presentation of various theories and various treatment measures, while others have presented one point of view and vague, general comments as to treatment.

In spite of certain deficiencies this work should be useful to lay persons. For students who need definitions and brief discussions it may serve as a quick orientation and stimulate interest in further reading in many areas.

C. T.

Jails: Care and Treatment of Misdemeanant Prisoners in the United States. By LOUIS N. ROBINSON. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1944. Pp. vi+296. \$3.00.

Dr. Robinson's long and prominent connection with organizations dedicated to the task of making more efficient our treatment of the crime problem gives him a broad perspective on the problems outlined in this interesting book. His approach to the complex questions involved is strikingly temperate as to tone; there is a notable absence of the impassioned rhetoric that so often distinguishes books and articles on this anachronistic subject. Undoubtedly the author takes seriously his prefatory comment: "If verbal condemnation alone could do the work, the jail as an institution would have crumbled long ago" (p. iii).

This book may be divided somewhat roughly and arbitrarily into three sections, dealing respectively with (1) the problem, (2) what is being done about it, and (3) conclusions and recommendations. In passing it should be noted that Dr. Robinson has had to face a serious handicap in that much of the literature of the field is fugitive or even nonexistent; especially marked is the absence of good materials in the traditional "visit, inspect, and report" area. The first four chapters define the problem and the setting; the next eleven describe various devices and instruments that are being used here and there in an effort to improve conditions; the final statement, which summarizes the findings, suggests a gradual movement toward various forms of state care as the most hopeful solution.

The author quite correctly recognizes that the genesis of many of the existing evils lies in the re-

grettable survival of local control and in the continued use of outdated institutions. Many social workers will agree with his apt statement that "county government is the last refuge of political incompetency, and city government is next to the last" (p. 275). Perhaps county government with proper controls can be made more competent than it has been; at any rate, the feeble jail-inspection services of some thirty states have given little or no hope for improvement. In England reform came a full century after John Howard's crusade, but only when control of local prisons was given to the Home Secretary, with costs being paid out of the Exchequer. In this country the only federal participation is through the excellent jail-inspection service of the Bureau of Prisons, which currently has approved for federal prisoners some five hundred jails of the more than three thousand inspected. It is a rather startling fact that more than two thousand counties maintain jails which cannot be used even for the temporary detention of those charged with violating federal statutes.

Social workers will find this book useful as a review of the practices that have developed in recent years. In the reviewer's opinion, the almost complete absence of the interesting historical materials in the field is a prominent defect. One likewise regrets the absence of comment regarding the place of case work in the jails, a subject to which Mr. Leon Stern long has called attention. Certainly one can agree with the author that this is not the definitive book on the subject; however, it must be considered a worth-while contribution to the literature of an important and archaic social institution, which each year directly affects some three million Americans.

FRANK T. FLYNN

Psychoanalytic Orientation in Case Work. By THOMAS M. FRENCH, M.D., and RALPH ORMSBY. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1944. Pp. 51. \$0.50.

This pamphlet contains two papers which made a noteworthy contribution to social case work. In the first, entitled "Psychoanalysis and Social Work," Dr. French in nontechnical language presents certain psychoanalytic concepts. These are discussed from the standpoint of how they may be useful as an integral part of the case worker's orientation in fulfilling his function of understanding people in order to help them intelligently with their social problems. Of particular value is the explicit analysis of how the relationship between the case worker and the client may be used to help the client make more productive use of his environment. There is discussion also of the basic psychotherapeutic values which may accrue to the client through help which is focused on changing or easing adverse environmental conditions.

In the second paper, entitled "Treatment in a Dependency Situation," Mr. Ormsby presents a detailed analysis of a case in a private family agency. There is a wide range of social problems, and over a period of time there is differential use of agency and of community resources in response to the changing treatment needs of the individuals concerned. The work shows a nice integration of the social worker's traditional ways of helping through making available resources and opportunities in relation to social problems, together with the use of the interview in the direct treatment of the client's emotional difficulties, which were both cause and result of the social problems. Of particular import is the author's comprehensive statement of principles to guide the case worker in the use of the direct-treatment method. The brief but intelligible recording of the diagnostic thinking on which the changing treatment emphasis was based adds greatly to the value of this work.

There is very real need in the case-work literature for more discussions which like these show the actual application of theory to practice. Case workers regardless of the agency setting in which they practice will find much that is helpful in these two papers.

C. T.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Social Insurance, Part I (Cmd. 6550); *Part II, Workmen's Compensation Proposals for an Industrial Injury Insurance Scheme* (Cmd. 6551). London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1944. Pp. 64; 31. 6d.; 3d.

This White Paper, in two parts, presented to Parliament by the Ministry of Reconstruction, contains the British government's acceptance of most of the major proposals of the Beveridge Report with certain modifications. In the earlier White Paper on medical care (Cmd. 6502) the government had already accepted the recommendation for a universal system of medical care in place of the older and much more restricted Health Insurance plan. The White Paper on *Social Insurance* proceeds from that point, and commentators who suggest that the British government has accepted 85 per cent of the Beveridge Report are probably correct.

In addition to medical care, the other important benefit that is not to be on an insurance basis is the Beveridge recommendation for children's allowances, now changed in the White Paper to "family allowances" and accepted by the government with a smaller grant per week for the first child than Beveridge proposed. The government proposal is that "a substantial part of the benefit" is to be given in kind and that school meals and milk are to be made available to "pupils in primary and secondary schools."

These benefits in kind will be free of cost to the parents and will be available for all the children in a family attending school, including the first. The cost to public funds will be large. It is estimated that when the services has reached its full development the cost of supplying meals and milk to children at school will be of the order of £60 million a year [51].

In addition to the family allowances there will be an "orphan's allowance."

Special allowances will be paid for orphan children, both of whose parents are dead. These will be at the rate of 12s. a week and the first child will not, as in the family allowance scheme, be excluded.

But provision is definitely not made for children in institutions.

The scheme is essentially one for the benefit of the family. When a child is in an institution no al-

lowance under the scheme will be paid to the authorities of the institution. Where, as a result of a judicial order or similar circumstances (e.g., where a local authority has assumed parental rights), the child is no longer in the care of the parents, payment of allowance to them will cease. Otherwise it is proposed that the allowance should continue to be paid to the parents while a child is in an institution, even though under the new Health Service no charge will fall upon parents for the maintenance and treatment of children in hospital.

It is not possible to review the differences between the government White Paper and Beveridge. For the most part these are minor differences. But the future of what has been known more recently as "public assistance" and at an earlier period as "poor relief" should not be overlooked. Under the government plan complete emancipation from poor relief is not yet in sight; there will still be "in reserve" a National Assistance scheme "to meet the requirements of the specially necessitous case." That is, there will be "financial assistance to all on proof of need," but—this is National Assistance and no longer local poor relief. County public assistance authorities will disappear.

Of course, the numbers of persons who will be left to subsist on the dregs of "public assistance" after a means test will be relatively small; and public assistance will be improved. Detailed proposals for bringing to an end the present system of public assistance are being worked out and will include any necessary adjustments of the existing provisions relating to the "disregard" of certain types of resources. The health functions of the public assistance authorities, for example, will be merged in the new National Health Service; but institutional provision for the young and the old will remain with the local governments, and apparently under the public assistance authority.

While it is recommended that "ultimate responsibility" for both insurance and assistance should rest upon a single Minister; in actual administration great importance is attached to the "preservation of the distinction between insurance and assistance, and in the final arrangements separate administration is to be retained for Social Insurance and National As-

sistance. The comment in the White Paper is as follows:

It is true that insurance benefit arises as of right and that assistance is available only subject to proof of need and examination of means and that this is an important distinction in itself, but the Government doubt whether, if both are dealt with by the same staff, the distinction would be sufficiently preserved. Any overlapping of inspections or visits or duplication of staffs can be avoided by providing for agency arrangements between Departments as at present, e.g., a man who now exhausts his right to unemployment benefit and has to have recourse to assistance, draws the actual payments, after his case has been examined and assessed by the officers of the Assistance Board, in the same way as he would have drawn unemployment benefit.

The government is not encouraging about any changes being swiftly made, except creating a new Ministry of Social Insurance:

As a first step the Government propose to introduce legislation at the earliest possible moment to set up a Ministry of Social Insurance and to transfer to that Ministry responsibility for the existing social insurance schemes.

The government promise as a "next step" a bill dealing with family allowances, but the new scheme will not come into operation until after the war. With regard to the complex legislation needed to bring the other parts of the plan into operation, the government makes no promises:

The Bill to implement the scheme of comprehensive social insurance will inevitably be a measure of great length and complexity. Subject, of course, to the discussion by Parliament of the proposals set out in this Paper, it is intended to press on with the preparation of the Bill and to introduce it as soon as possible.

A further statement made with regard to the outlook for action is the following:

The application of the principle of universality must inevitably lengthen the task of working out and bringing into operation the new scheme of social insurance. That task would in any event have been considerable, on account of the other changes proposed. But its complexity is much increased by extending it beyond a single class. To bring a universal scheme into operation will therefore take an appreciable time. But the Government are satisfied that the advantages of such a scheme are so great that the time needed to bring it into operation is well justified.

This White Paper ends all uncertainty as to the government plans with regard to the Bev-

eridge Report. But plans made, even by a Churchill government, sometimes have a long, slow journey to final enactment. The next steps in Parliament will be awaited with interest in this country.

E. A.

Report (1934-1943) and Handbook, State of New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. Trenton, 1944. Pp. 149.

This combined report and handbook is well illustrated and readable, giving a very good picture of public welfare developments in the state of New Jersey over a period of years. William J. Ellis, commissioner for many years, is to be congratulated on both the report and the numerous advances made under his leadership. Commissioner Ellis has written the introduction, which reviews developments since the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies was established in 1918.

The organization picture makes clear the responsibilities of the nine member lay board, appointed by the governor for overlapping terms, to serve as a policy-making body and to give continuity of policy. The commissioner appointed by this board serves without definite term as the chief executive officer. He is responsible both for the administration of the Central Department and for general supervision of all the institutions and agencies under the State Board jurisdiction. The department is organized along functional lines with a staff of qualified experts appointed from the lists of candidates certified by civil service examination.

The Division of Administration and Accounts is responsible for analyzing all budgetary requests of the department to recommend equitable allocation of funds between institutions and agencies and to preclude the possibility of overemphasis in any particular activity. This division also supervises the accounting and business offices of the state institutions and agencies, checks upon the billing and collection of charges for patients in state institutions, handles deportation of indigent persons committed to state institutions, supervises subsidies to counties for the maintenance of tuberculous patients, checks upon funds allocated by the Federal Social Security Board, and acts as liaison officer with the fiscal departments of the state government. The result has been an efficient and economical administration.

The institutional farms have been developed along modern agricultural lines, with the value of farm production steadily increasing over the last ten years. The value of farm work lies not merely in financial savings but in the therapeutic effects of regular, constructive employment for the patients and prisoners.

The Division of Classification and Education classifies the pertinent personal information for each patient or inmate in order to determine the type of training best suited to his needs. The New Jersey plan for classifying delinquents is said to be the first comprehensive program of its type in this country. Classification is also used in determining the urgency ratings for the waiting list for institutional admission and in providing for transfer of patients or inmates.

The Division of Medicine provides the most modern treatment methods for all the wards of the state; is active in research into the prevention and cure of special disease problems; and provides for inspection, supervision, and licensing of philanthropic and proprietary institutions.

Vocational industries and productive employment in New Jersey institutions are organized under the Division of State Use Industries. The products are utilized only by the public institutions and agencies supported by tax funds.

Statistics for the State Mental Hospitals show that New Jersey has 17,000 mental patients in public institutions, 5,800 of whom are in county hospitals and 11,200 in the state hospitals. Over a fifty-year period the proportion of mental patients to general population has more than doubled—in part because more persons are recognized as being in need of such care.

The schools for the mentally deficient also show a rising population. Many of the same developments which have led to identification of the mentally ill have also facilitated prompt recognition of the mentally deficient.

The report on the State Sanatorium shows a very encouraging decrease in the New Jersey death-rate from tuberculosis—in 1900 the rate was 186 and in 1942 only 44 for each 100,000 persons in the general population. New Jersey's fine record in dealing with tuberculosis has largely reflected the excellent work of its sanatoria. These pioneer institutions developed treatment techniques, urged widespread testing to diagnose the disease in its earliest stages, and pointed the need for preventive work. They

have loaned their personnel to clinics, stimulated local interest, and advised on community problems. The state provides a careful follow-up of patients returned from the Sanatorium to their homes.

Persons convicted by court action in New Jersey may be committed to the State Prison or reformatories, to the twenty-one county jails, or to the five county penitentiaries or work-houses. The State Board of Control utilizes individual analysis to form the basis of the classification procedure in order to decide upon a plan designed to fit the prisoner's needs.

Training schools for juvenile delinquents are thought of in relationship to other types of care; but, when a complete retraining or an entirely new environment is needed, such schools have much to offer.

The department maintains two homes for disabled veterans at Vineland. The program for old age assistance was started by state legislation in 1931 and later adapted to the federal requirements, after the passage of the Social Security Act. In 1943 the State Legislature eliminated the citizenship clause from the eligibility requirements, eliminated the maximum limitation of \$40 per month on individual payments, and reduced the residence requirements from five years to one.

The Commission for the Blind, which is responsible for the care and training of blind and visually handicapped persons, offers opportunity for education and trade training, providing assistance to those in financial need, and encouraging preventive work.

New Jersey was one of the first states to establish a program to meet the needs of dependent and neglected children when in 1899 the State Board of Children's Guardians was created. Through this division, aid is given to dependent children in their own homes, and care is given to children who have been abandoned or neglected.

Detailed information relating to the work of the various divisions is given in a statistical appendix.

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Illinois Department of Public Welfare, Twenty-fifth Annual Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1942. Springfield, 1944. Pp. 567.

This *Report* marks completion of a quarter-century of work by the first state department of public welfare. The Illinois Department had its beginning during the first World War, and this *Report* finds it again heavily beset with war-borne problems. As in the past, the Illinois *Report* presents a large amount of information which lacks systematic organization. It is a compendium of reports, varying widely in quality, from the many divisions within the department; it is hardly a report of the department as such. Perhaps the *Report* reflects the need of department reorganization which is pointed out in the report of the State Board of Public Welfare Commissioners.

The report of the Institute for Juvenile Research is, as usual, comprehensive and indicative of continued progressive work. Other points of interest are the great improvement in the program of the State Training School for Boys at St. Charles, the placement and supervision in family homes of mental hospital patients, and the work of the new Division of Public Assistance, whose service has since been transferred to the Illinois Public Aid Commission. The Neuropsychiatric Institute, important recent development in the state, will not be found adequately reported by citizens anxious to follow the work and progress of this important recent development in the state of Illinois.

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Laws of Illinois Relating to Public Aid. Illinois Public Aid Commission. Springfield, Ill., 1944. Pp. 65.

This convenient publication prepared under Raymond M. Hilliard, Public Aid Director, is a reprint of the Illinois laws relating to "general relief, old age pensions, aid to dependent children, and blind assistance." New subjects are given in the form of chapter headings, which sometimes explain the statutes and sometimes take away the unpleasant connotation of the old titles of the law. Thus the amendment to the Act creating the Illinois Public Aid Commission, which is called "An Act to provide for relief of needy persons . . .," is put under the general subject heading "State Responsibility for Public Aid"; and the old poor law, which is legally "An Act to revise the law in relation to paupers . . .," is placed under the general sub-

ject heading "Local Responsibility for Providing General Relief."

The old "pauper law" of Illinois, which was "approved, March 23, 1874," is greatly in need of complete revision. Some changes that seem very necessary to social workers, e.g., elimination of the three-year residence requirement for eligibility and county instead of township responsibility, are very controversial. But there are many improvements that could easily be made without objections. The law is antiquated in form and terminology; it not only begins with the first twelve sections devoted to family responsibility and does not reach the responsibility of the local authorities until sections 14-15; but one section still provides (sec. 21) for "letting out the support of the poor" when the county does not have "a poor house at which its poor are supported." The terms "pauper," "poor house," and "poor farm" are frequently used in one section after another; the county board is authorized "to appoint a keeper of the poor house and all necessary agents and servants for the management and control of the poor house and farm. . . ." There is still the provision (sec. 42) that "county boards shall order to be paid out of the county treasury a just and equitable sum of money for the tuition of pauper children residing in the county poor house, and attending any district school in this state." These are only a few of the disgracefully antiquated forms of the old pauper law of Illinois, and it is to be hoped that the Public Aid Commission may secure a complete revision of this statute. The reprint unfortunately does not carry the dates of the amendments to various sections. The revised statutes show certain sections that have not been changed since long before the revision of 1874. These dates are useful, and they will be missed by those who use this reprint.

The new Blind Assistance Law that made it possible for Illinois to receive the grant-in-aid under Title X of the Social Security Act appears for the first time in one of these reprints.

Unfortunately, the county departments of public welfare (except in Cook County) became county departments of public assistance in 1943. A county welfare department can, of course, include a good many services, especially services to children, that cannot possibly be called public assistance, and the former name was greatly to be preferred.

The Old Age Pension Law is in need of revision, and certain changes like the abolition of

the citizenship requirement, the provision for the responsibility of the children, the stiff residence requirement of five out of "nine years immediately preceding . . ." are among the changes needed.

This is a very useful reprint of the important public aid and related statutes of Illinois.

E. A.

Child Welfare: Report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to the Governor of Virginia. (House Document No. 11.) Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1944. Pp. 28.

The Virginia Advisory Legislative Council was authorized in 1940 by the General Assembly to make a thorough investigation of all problems relating to children and child welfare in Virginia and to present to the governor its findings and recommendations together with suggested legislation for improvement of the state's program. Realizing that the field was entirely too broad to be covered exhaustively in the time available, the committee appointed by the council to do the job confined its deliberations to such problems as adoption and regulation of children's agencies.¹ A modest legislative program, including excellent bills on these two subjects, was presented to the 1942 session of the General Assembly and subsequently enacted. At the same time the committee advised that the study be continued throughout the next biennium.

The present *Report* is the result of the deliberations of a second committee appointed by the Legislative Advisory Council to carry on the investigation. Juvenile delinquency—its cause, prevention, and treatment—was selected as the major topic for study.

Recognizing that the best method of preventing delinquency lies in strengthening basic services for children, the committee recommends: (a) that local boards of public welfare provide to parents skilled case-work service on child welfare problems; (b) that the education authorities adapt the curriculum of the public schools to the retarded child through provision of vocational instruction and elementary trade training; (c) that a visiting-teacher system be

established to provide sympathetic enforcement of the attendance laws together with case-work service to parents and children; (d) that constructive leisure-time activities, now largely limited to urban areas, be provided for children throughout the state; and (e) that an extensive program of foster-home care be provided in every county through local boards of public welfare, with the state bearing 62.5 per cent and the localities 37.5 per cent of the cost.

To meet the many difficulties involved in the care, discipline, control, and study of delinquent children while awaiting trial, disposition, and placement, the committee outlines the following plans:

1. The addition of a qualified staff member to the State Department of Public Welfare to be responsible for (a) assisting local boards of public welfare and juvenile and domestic relations courts in the development of suitable facilities—preferably boarding-homes—for the detention of juveniles (in 1943 a total of 3,577 children were confined in jails); and (b) developing probation and case-work services in the juvenile and domestic relations courts in the cities and the counties, with the state bearing 50 per cent of the cost of probation service in cities of more than 25,000 population.

2. The immediate establishment of two child study centers—in the Norfolk and Roanoke areas—adequately equipped and staffed to provide complete medical, psychiatric, and social services to children who have been adjudged delinquent.

These specific proposals for immediate action, if carried into effect, should go a long way toward solving some of the problems accompanying the great increase in juvenile delinquency that Virginia has shared with the rest of the country.

Both this committee and its predecessor listed for discussion and study the important problems of child labor and determination of paternity (Virginia is one of the few states which has no paternity legislation of any kind), but neither subject received consideration in the final reports. These are serious omissions. It is to be hoped that the Advisory Legislative Council will be authorized to continue this investigation through the next legislative interim and that the problem of child labor, at least, will receive the attention it deserves.

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¹ *Child Welfare: Report to the Governor of Virginia Containing Findings and Recommendations of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council.* (Senate Document No. 5.) Richmond, 1942.

The Social Service Exchange: A Device for Facilitating the Exchange of Confidential Information among Welfare and Health Agencies. By EDITH SHATTO KING. (Bureau of Public Assistance Circular No. 16.) Washington, D.C.: Social Security Board, 1943. Pp. vii+102.

Many public agencies operating on a county- or state-wide basis need clearance service, and this circular discusses some methods which have been tried to meet the new needs and suggests means by which an exchange can be organized and used to give an effective service promptly and at a minimum cost.

There has been "wide discussion and some experimentation with the development of centralized State-wide exchanges under the sponsorship of State public welfare administrations." However, decentralized plans under state supervision—as in Indiana and Ohio—with the county or group of counties as the clearance unit have seemed more practicable up to this time. At least two private exchanges (Boston and Philadelphia) and one private agency (the Family Service Society of Wilmington, Delaware) have pioneered in offering a wide clearance service. Interstate clearance will be necessary with the development of plans for service to migratory workers, but such co-operation will require the promotion and interest of public officials, especially those in state welfare agencies.

The expansion of the exchange presumes that it will be used not only by new members but also by those who are nonmembers. Certain essentials in planning, organizing, operating, and financing an exchange serving a wide area are made clear.

C. G.

Employment and Housing Problems of Migratory Workers in New York and New Jersey Canning Industries, 1943. (Women's Bureau Bull. No. 198.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944. Pp. 35. \$0.10.

This bulletin of the Women's Bureau gives a clear, factual presentation of the situation in the canning industry in New York and New Jersey in 1943, covering the extent of woman employment, sources of labor supply and methods of recruitment, and, particularly, the problems of migratory labor.

Many employers have encouraged immigra-

tion by false promises of high pay and of good working and living conditions and yet have, in spite of their unusual prosperity, permitted shocking conditions to maintain for the workers on the theory that "it is as good as they are used to." Regardless of any humanitarian interest in the migrant, it is incredible that so little had been done to conserve and fully use the dangerously limited supply of manpower. Following descriptions of some of the miserable and insanitary housing facilities is an outline of suggested minimum standards, which properly includes transportation, sanitation, recreation, and supervision.

Finally there is a summary of the migrant problem and a formidable list of agencies concerned with living and working conditions of migrant workers.

Perhaps by this time the various agencies, employers, and communities are better integrated and more active, so that conditions reported in this bulletin have been to some extent improved.

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Social Policy in Dependent Territories. ("I.L.O. Studies and Reports," Ser. B, Economic Conditions, No. 38.) Montreal: International Labour Office, 1944. Pp. iii+185. \$1.50.

This study was prepared "to explain the background, the nature and the potentialities" of the decisions made in Philadelphia in 1944 concerning social policy in dependent territories. The course of world events and the International Labor Organization is traced from the drawing-up of its constitution at the peace table in 1919, through 1939. It is pointed out that the Mandates System, established in 1919 also, greatly strengthened the sense of responsibility of colonial powers, even to the extent of preparing their wards for independence and self-government. For some years of prosperity governments and employers brought about great improvements in such fields as tropical medicine, nutrition, and social welfare, while self-government increased even to the point of independence of certain peoples, as of Iraq (this reviewer saw Independence Day celebrated at Ur), or its promise at a set date, as for the Philippines.

The depression, however, stopped progress and even reversed it. It revealed weak spots

prosperity had hidden, such as the irrelevance to colonial life of most "western" education, the sinking weight of overpopulations, receding native production due to denuding of forests for planting of cane or rubber or for foreign settlement. Also, natives had been drawn from their villages to demoralizing city slums and eventual starvation. It became clear that new solutions to problems of employment must be sought.

The International Labor Conference met at least annually each of its first twenty years to cope with changing needs. Notable among its achievements were the framing of an International Labor Code and the adoption of conventions on Forced Labor (1930), Recruiting of Indigenous Workers (1936), Contracts of Employment (1939), Penal Sanctions (1939). In this last-named year, however, war interrupted the operations of the Organization.

War, meanwhile, began to work havoc and retrogressions in dependent territories, for example, bringing back forced and conscript labor. (In India women are being driven into underground mines and in South Africa, we are told in the news of 1944, farmers are demanding forced native help.) Many colonies also were seized by Japan and lost to "colonial powers." Therefore, one hardly knows how to evaluate their recent attitudes. Lord Hailey (a recent delightful visitor from Britain) now prefers to call the colonies "junior partners." In 1942 Queen Wilhelmina proclaimed "a solid foundation for future partnership." In 1943 a high sense of trusteeship in the Congo was announced on behalf of Belgium, while in 1944 Frenchmen declared that prosperity in Africa will depend on native welfare. New Zealand and Australia plan social welfare in the Southwest Pacific. Our own Puerto Rico appears often in this study as the object of American concern for its health, education, and social welfare, while it is admitted the island suffered terribly because it could not change production to meet military needs. As "the very existence" of Caribbean Islands was threatened, an Anglo-American Commission was set up. On the other hand, it is doubtless true, as this study urges, that an actual purpose to improve conditions for subject peoples is at work. For example, before the Dutch lost their Indies, they had begun to encourage native supply for indigenous markets in food and handicrafts on the principle that expanding income would increase demand for imports. Other trends have been the passing of

responsibility for social services and social security from the employers to the state, the strengthening of employers' and workers' organizations, the importance of trades-unions, and the recognition of certain problems as internal or regional.

In the face of all these and many other changes as well as many questions about the future, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. met in London in December, 1943, and called the general conference for April, 1944, in Philadelphia. There the action of greatest significance was the passing of a Recommendation on Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories. One of its bases is the necessity for the organization of workers. Its statement of general principles opens as follows:

All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

And Article IV reads:

All possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible.

The minimum standards themselves, in good part confirming previously made international agreements, concern slavery, opium, forced or compulsory labor, recruiting of workers, contract employment, penal sanctions, employment of children and young persons, employment of women, remuneration, health, housing and social security, color, religious, and other discriminations, inspection, and encouragement of industrial organization and co-operative societies. Appendix A gives the entire text of this Recommendation. The participating governments are bound to consider and report back their action on the Recommendation; otherwise its carrying-out rests with the governments themselves. Also, as long as the war lasts, little actual improvement, and even further retrogressions, are to be expected. Nevertheless, the Recommendation is a powerful force toward the advancement of peoples in dependent territories and toward world stability, peace, and progress.

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Federal Prisons, 1943. (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons.) El Reno, Okla.: Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Press, 1944. Pp. 87.

Last year the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the United States Board of Parole completed thirteen years as distinct governmental agencies. For each of the first eleven of these years the Bureau published an annual report called *Federal Offenders*. No report was published for the year ended June 30, 1942, because of the war. Like *Federal Offenders* the present publication contains both the annual report of the Director of the Bureau of Prisons (James V. Bennett) and some important detailed statistics concerning activities of the federal courts. The Statistical Review and many of the tables presented in the former publication have been omitted. The changing character of the criminal work of federal courts during the last thirteen years is shown in a statistical table; and Table 20, which shows average sentences for selected offenses by judicial circuit and district, is one of the new compilations which will be useful to those interested in the work of the courts.

Nearly eight hundred members of the prison service have entered military service, and several thousand former prisoners are in the armed services. The classification for prisoners eligible and fit for such service has required new parole procedure. As in other agencies, the war has made the work of the Bureau more difficult. The loss of staff to the services and the transfer of large numbers of staff members to war industry jobs have made necessary the recruitment and training of new officers and employees to take their places. There was a 400 per cent increase over peacetime levels in continued production of war materials in the prison industries.

There will be special interest in the section dealing with wartime offenders, including saboteurs, traitors, violators of rationing regulations, offenders convicted by military courts-martial, and especially violators of the Selective Training and Service Act. "These offenders who now comprise nearly one-fourth of the present Federal prison population" are said to present "many new and difficult problems." Several thousand inmates of a type and character hitherto unknown to federal prisons were committed.

Except for those convicted by military courts-martial, few of the wartime offenders

had ever been previously found guilty of any offense.

Some of them, such as the Italian seaman convicted of sabotage, presented chiefly a nice problem in how to treat aliens who only did what their officers required of them but who harbored no ill will against either the people or the laws of the United States. With much tact and patience on both sides, such prisoners adjusted satisfactorily and were ultimately released without incident to the custody of the Immigration Service. Native saboteurs and traitors are primarily a problem in custody and intra-institutional relations. Fortunately, so far no untoward incident has occurred to create any serious difficulties among this small group.

Military courts-martial have been sending to federal prisons a group of offenders who have previously been chiefly found in state prisons and reformatories. These are described in the report as "young, antisocial and maladjusted individuals who have little or no sense of social responsibility and whose personal ethics are conspicuous for their absence." There has been in peacetime a small group of such offenders in federal prisons, and special provision had been made for them at one time. "Augmented by the current influx from the Army, these youthful misfits present a serious problem in diagnosis and treatment." To this type of military case should also be added a group of "borderline psychotic and low-grade mental cases" which the Selective Service System has drawn into the courts and finally to federal prisons. These prisoners are described as "for the most part harmless, having been able to adjust to society on a marginal, vagrant level until caught in the dragnet of conscription."

There is a very interesting and rather long section of the report given to the problems of "War Resisters." While this group is said to have been "both worrisome and wearisome at times," they have on the whole adjusted satisfactorily to the prison program.

Less than 50 have, from time to time, refused to cooperate. Of this small number, two prisoners conducted a hunger strike for 82 days, being medically fed for 63 days in protest against the civilian public service camp program operated by the Selective Service System and in favor of more significant work for conscientious objectors. They requested assignments to a hospital and a school for delinquent boys under the parole provisions of Executive Order 8641, and discontinued their fast when these assignments were secured for them.

Most numerous in the C.O. group are more than five hundred members of Jehovah's Witnesses who, although classified by local Selective Service Boards as bona fide conscientious objectors, refused to accept assignment to civilian public service camps. It is reported that on the whole these new type prisoners "obey the rules and perform their tasks satisfactorily."

The following paragraph from the report is of interest:

The conscientious objector whose beliefs are founded in a traditional religious background and who would ordinarily be classified as a conscientious objector by a Selective Service Board, often lands in prison because he refuses to register, or to appear for

a physical examination, or to return his occupational questionnaire. What leads one pacifist to draw the line here and another there, depends entirely on the individual. Many of such prisoners are bewildered and frustrated in their efforts to find a constructive answer to the complex problems of a world in conflict, and finding none, satisfy some inner need through protest and escape from reality.

The report deals with education, vocational training, religious education, medical care, juvenile offenders, jail supervision, parole, and other important subjects.

As is usual in wartime, the "average population" of prisons shows a downward curve in spite of the added group of wartime offenders.

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